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Aksakal, Mustafa; Schmidt-Verkerk, Kerstin

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Mustafa Aksakal and Kerstin Schmidt-Verkerk*

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* Bielefeld University

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University of Bielefeld
Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD)
Postfach 100131
D-33501 Bielefeld
Homepage: http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/tdrc/ag_comcad/

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# 1. Introduction

In 1892, the German sociologist Max Weber published his study *Die Lage der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland*, in which he analysed empirically the immigration of foreign land workers to Germany. In doing so, he aimed to comprehend the root causes for the emerging migration patterns; reveal why German agricultural labourers moved to urban areas, and why they were replaced by Polish and Ruthene rural workers, as well as he intended to understand the societal consequences that changes in the ethnic composition bring about for the eastern Elbe region (Mommsen, 1993).

After more than 100 years, immigration still plays a significant societal role in Germany, whereby the qualitative and quantitative characteristics, legal mechanisms for regulation, as well as political and academic discourses around the topic were very volatile over the last decades.

Under the guest worker programmes between 1955 and 1973 legal opening mechanisms were created in order to attract industrial low-skilled labourers from developing economies. This recruitment measure has substantially shaped immigration patterns. Political discourses and academic discussions were mainly focusing on the benefits for sending and receiving countries, for instance, by increasing employment/income opportunities and respective remittances that were seen as fruitful for the development process in the home region (Kindleberger, 1967), whereby this process potentially would spill over to other societal spheres in countries of origin. Receiving countries could, according to the dominant perspective, fill by this controlled influx labour gaps in certain sectors and advance by this way in their development process (OECD, 1978). After the recruitment stop in 1973, immigration policies changed and accordingly, immigration to Germany was representing a highly selective process that mainly was permitted only for family members of previous immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, German ethnic immigrants, late repatriates and for few specialised labour immigrants, as well as for a limited number of foreign university students (Treibel, 2008).

Since 2000, and especially since the implementation of the *New Foreigner Law* in 2005, Germany's immigration policy is again in the process of change due to the attempt to create formal incentives for promoting the inflow of certain mobile groups. In this vein, with exception to refugees and asylum seekers, it was and is attempted to stimulate the systematic inflow of professionals, international students, entrepreneurs and respective family members mainly from Non-European third countries over the last years. In this process set in motion by several legal reforms in and after 2005, not only shifts regarding relevant sending regions and immigration numbers have occurred, but also qualitatively new patterns of immigration were created. In line with this idea, temporal immigration of

professionals from Asian countries, such as China and India, has increasingly gained importance after 2005 (Kreienbrink & Mayer, 2014).

Since political efforts started in 2000 by the implementation of the German Green Card, controversial public discourses have rotated around advantages and threats that new immigration flows assumedly entail. Economic players in Germany have argued that serious skilled personnel shortages are prevailing, that probably will adversely impact economic growth in Germany. As addressed below, the spontaneous reaction of the government of that time was the implementation of the German Green Card that included legal measures and political promotion in order to accomplish the entrance and temporal stay of mostly Asian professionals (Westerhoff, 2007). The initiative has also caused concerns, reflected in political discourses, for instance, in the North Rhine-Westphalia state election campaign in 2000 (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009: 230). Also the related discussion regarding the threat that additional migrant inflows represent for the conservation of the German *Leitkultur* (guiding culture), initiated by the Christian Democratic Union (ibid.: 231) in 2000 was a further expression of fear. Beside of these political discourses, likewise other public discourses were generated by the Green Card implementation, such as the incomprehension that foreigners would be recruited, while more than three million unemployed people existed at that time in Germany. It was therefore claimed to exploit domestic capabilities (i.e. through adequate trainings) instead of attracting new immigrants (Westerhoff, 2007).
In recent discourse, controversial views on immigration are still continuing: on the one hand, the societal creation of a *welcome culture* (*Schaffung einer Willkommenskultur*) that is strongly linked to the debate on the urgent need for professionals, due to skilled labour shortages, demographic change and competiveness in the global economy, is discussed. In this vein, it is expressed that within the German society positive incentives should be developed in order to increment the attractiveness of the country for professionals (Finke, Der Spiegel, 11.05.2012). On the other hand, there is a debate on *poverty migration* (*Armutsmigration*) that thematises recent immigration as a threat for the German social system (Roßmann, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28.12.13) that is in turn associated with adverse development impacts.

These controversial discourses indicate that immigration to Germany is currently polarised between those immigrants, who supposedly represent a development threat (e.g. Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants, who are perceived as poverty migrants) and those, who are associated with development benefits (e.g. professionals, entrepreneurs, international students from Asia), and therefore need to be attracted by particular incentives, such as legal reforms, and through the creation of positive societal conditions (the creation of a welcome culture).

These circumstances invite to take a closer look at this realm in Germany and to analyse relevant categories in-depth in order to obtain a clear picture of the current immigration context. In this vein, the focus in this report is limited on the one hand to temporary and permanent professionals, entrepreneurs and international students, and their family members, but also to refugees and asylum seekers from Asia. On the other hand, the report focuses on German nationals and residents, who are immigrating temporarily to Asian countries. Therewith, it is aimed to provide empirically a comprehensive image of the German-Asian transnational space and to take a first step towards the analysis and profound understanding of recent features and connected policy impacts of temporary transnational migration and mobility. The overarching research question that is guiding this report is related to the aspects noted above:

> *What are the particular political measures, the characteristics of immigration and relevant analytical migrant categories of the current German-Asian transnational space?*

As hypothetical assumption it can be argued, that with the New Foreigner Law in 2005 a first legal incentive for the attraction of certain types of immigrants (e.g. professionals) were initiated. Also after 2005 several other legal measures were created to promote more effectively the entrance and stay of professionals in Germany. Furthermore, it is likely that the immigration of professionals represents a qualitatively different form of influx than in the guest worker context that comprises, for instance, also temporary and circular migration, as well as involves transnational social formations, spaces and practices. Finally, the German-Asian transnational space contains a multitude of different migrant categories and transnational spaces that are probably in some cases interlinked.
As noted above, by responding to the central question the objective of the report is to obtain first theoretical and empirical information with regard to the recent German-Asian immigration context.

In order to achieve this objective in chapter *two* the authors discuss the past and present migratory background regarding immigration to Germany and especially the inflow from Asia. Furthermore, legal reforms until 2000 are addressed briefly. In the last section of this chapter also the conceptual framework is considered. Chapter *three* addresses the national policies in Germany with regard to the immigration of certain types of mobile persons. The chapter also addresses existing academic literature with special regard to different migrant categories. Finally, particular empirical trends and characteristics are considered. Chapter *four* focuses on migration from Germany to relevant Asian countries. First, existing literature with regard to the flow direction is revised and discussed and

thereafter the empirical development and particular attributes are addressed statistically. The final chapter *five* briefly summarises resulting relevant migrant categories and first results and emerging trends. The report ends by attempting to provide a preliminary response to the central research question.

# 2. Background and Conceptual Frame

As noted above, international labour immigration to Germany has a long tradition and a volatile character, which is related to the changing political conditions and other societal trends that the country ran through in the last decades. In this vein, it can be argued that between 1945 and 1989 the history of immigration is strongly related to the geopolitical circumstances, which make the migration context in Germany very particular. Therefore, it seems useful to discuss briefly the differing immigration contexts before starting to address contemporary immigration from Asia to Germany. Consequently, we discuss in this background chapter main features of immigration to and respective policies in Germany in order to get a better and more complete understanding of current immigration to Germany. In the last section of the chapter central concept are addressed.

## 2.1. Immigration to Germany after 1945

Immigration to Germany after 1945 took place under two different political circumstances. On the one hand the immigration to Germany previous to the East-West division until 1949 and after the division after 1949 until 1989. Following this idea, in continuation immigration to Germany until 1949, as well as immigration to the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 onwards is in the next subsection (*Federal Republic of Germany*) discussed together. Caused by the fact that immigration to the German Democratic Republic represented a special and distinguishing context, this geopolitical context is addressed separately.

*Federal Republic of Germany*

In the case of West Germany, we can find different waves of immigration. The first immigration influx proceeded after 1945, with which the need of labour forces could be satisfied in West Germany. These flows were constituted by mainly three groups of post-war returnees:

a) The first group was represented by German prisoners of WW-II, who were released and returned to West Germany. It is estimated that from 1945 until the End of 1950s four million prisoners of war returned to the Federal Republic of Germany (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011).

b) The second group of returnees was constituted by displaced persons mainly from Central Europe. This group was represented by Germans by origin, which were deported or fled from war. The number is estimated to 4.7 million people (ibid.).
c) The third group was constituted by immigrants from the east occupation zone to West Germany, whose number is estimated by Bade to 1.8 million people (Bade, 1985:60). These immigration flows continued until the 1960s. According to Herbert (1990), the number of the noted three groups represented 16.7 per cent in 1950 and rose to 23.9 per cent of West Germany's total population in 1960.

During the 1950s, when the West German economy boomed certain labour gaps emerged. These gaps could be filled partly by the above noted three immigration groups. Although in this period the unemployment rate was up to seven per cent (Treibel, 2008) "regional labour demands in specific rural sectors" on the one hand, and "increasing demand in construction and industry" (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011: 96) emerged. The positive economic circumstances stimulated the initiation of temporary labour recruitment initiatives, with the objective to attract relatively short-term cheap and young labour from the peripheral neighbour countries of Southern Europe. The initiative was called *Gastarbeiterprogramm* (guest worker programme) and its principal idea was to shift unskilled work force from regions where labour was abundant to Germany, where it was partly scarce. Therefore, temporary labour migrants were recruited, whereby, as already noted above, the temporariness should be based on the rotating system, meaning that workers should be only contracted for a fixed time, "usually for one or two years [because] it was thought that most would then return to waiting families in their native countries" (OECD, 1978:16). And if so, they could be quickly replaced by other guest workers.

First, temporary agricultural workers were recruited from Italy in 1952. In order to attend the construction and industrial sectors recruitment contracts were concluded in 1955 again with Italy, in 1960 with Spain and Greece, in 1961 with Turkey, in 1963 with Morocco, in 1964 with Portugal, in 1965 with Tunisia and in 1968 with Yugoslavia (ibid.). The programme ended with the recruitment ban in 1973, which had to do with adverse developments in the global economy that influenced the German economy too (e.g. the oil crisis, the overproduction crisis). It particularly adversely affected the organisation of industrial production and respective labour markets. Those guest workers, who had the intention to stay after 1973, had the possibility for family reunification, meaning the right to bring close relatives from the sending regions to West Germany to stay with them (OECD, 1978).

In the period between the end of the 1950s and 1973, around 14 million temporary guest workers came to West Germany (Bade & Oltmer, 2007: 75). This number rose until 1990 due to family reunifications to 16 million people (Treibel, 2008: 58). Until 1990, around

12 million immigrants returned to their home lands. The remaining four million guest workers and their family members were mainly represented by the Turks (33 per cent of the total population in 1980), former Yugoslavian (14 per cent of the total population in 1980) and Italian (13.9 per cent of the total population in 1980) population segments (Bade & Oltmer, 2007: 75/6; Treibel, 2008: 59).

The recruitment ban of 1973 did not mean that immigration to Germany had stopped completely. Although significantly lower in quantities, after the end of the *Gastarbeiterprogramm* exceptional regulations existed regarding foreign skilled labour immigration to West Germany. This was the case for various sectors, including gastronomy, medical care, fair, home care, and child care sectors, but also for family reunification, refugee and asylum seekers and in some cases for university studies in Germany (Treibel, 2008: 59). Further larger immigration movements after 1973 can be identified on the one hand by the inflow of ethnic German emigrants (*Aussiedler*) and late-repatriates (*Spätaussiedler*), those number is estimated shortly before and after the dismantling of the Iron Curtain (1987-1992) to 1.5 million people (ibid.: 39). On the other hand, after the German reunification the inflow of refugees from former Yugoslavia played a central role. In this context inflow by "refugee movements culminated in 1992 at a peak of 438,000 applications" (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011: 97).

*German Democratic Republic*

The motivation for the employment of foreign temporary labour migrants was in the GDR very similar to the reasons in West Germany. The objective behind the recruitment was mainly guided by the idea to "organise the industrial production in a more effective way, as well as to compensate for the labour shortage in the GDR economy" (Gruner-Domić, 1999: 215/6), as well as to occupy the least appreciated jobs (Bade & Oltmer, 2007). However, in comparison to West Germany the labour forces were recruited from different geographical areas (ibid.). In this vein, above all contract workers were recruited, those represented mostly temporary low-skilled and partly skilled and high-skilled immigrants from socialist sister states. In some cases, occupational trainings were offered for the temporary migrants (Gruner- Domić, 1999). Based on bilateral governmental agreements in the course of the 1960s, labour recruitment from East European countries (e.g. Poland, Hungary etc.) was achieved, in the 1970s recruitment from non-European regions (USSR, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, Algeria, Mozambique) was accomplished, and in the 1980s recruitment from Angola and China was carried out (ibid.). The total number of foreigners amounted in 1989 to 190,400 people in the GDR. Around 50 per cent of this quantity was represented by foreign contract workers, those numbers increased sharply from 3,500 people in 1966 to 93,568 in 1989 (Gruner-Domić, 1999: 224). The recruitment from Vietnam and Mozambique was

dominant in this context. The number of Vietnamese contract workers amounted in 1989 to 59,000 and that of Mozambique labourers to 19,000 people (Bade & Oltmer, 2007).

### 2.2. Current migration profile in Germany

Both the volume of migrant stock and migrant flows to and from Germany have risen over the last two decades. According to the OECD[1], in 2010 the foreign-born population in Germany accounted for 16.4 per cent, and the foreign population for 9 per cent of the total population of about 82 million inhabitants. Different statistics by the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) show that the total number of foreigners in Germany amounted to 6,627,957 people, representing 8.2 per cent of the total population of the country in 2012. In this scenario the total immigration number of foreign nationalities amounted to 965,908 (AZR 738,735) people. These numbers are contrasted by 578,759 cases of outmigration by foreign citizens, resulting in a positive migration balance of +387,149 people.

Yet, instead of terminology such as migrants or foreigners, in recent years much of the discourse on migration and integration in Germany has been based on the term 'people with migration background' (*Personen mit Migrationshintergrund*). Several definitions exist for this concept (Bömermann et al., 2007), but the BAMF defines people with a migration background as[2]:

> "people who moved to the present-day territory of the Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, as well as all foreigners born in Germany and all Germans born in Germany with at least one parent who immigrated or was born as a foreigner in Germany."

In 2005, 15 million persons, or about 18 per cent of the total German population, had a migration background, while in 2009 their number had risen to 15.7 million people, which equals 19 per cent of the total population (Krobisch & Wiest, 2011). About two third of people with a migration background living in Germany in 2011 were first generation migrants, while one third was born in Germany as a second or third generation migrant. In more detail, 35.6 per cent of people with a migration background in Germany in 2011 were foreigners with a personal migration experience, 31.4 per cent were Germans with a personal migration experience, 23.5 per cent were Germans without a personal migration experience, and 9.5

[1] www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/country-statistical-profile-germany-2013_csp-deu-table-2013-1-en

[2] www.bamf.de/DE/Service/Left/Glossary/_function/glossar.html?lv2=1364186&lv3=3198544

per cent were foreign nationals born in Germany in the second or third generation[3]. In 2011, 37.5 per cent of the foreign population in Germany (2.6 million persons) was nationals of an EU-member state, mainly of Italy (7.5 per cent of all foreigners), Poland (6.8 per cent), Greece (4.1 per cent), Austria (2.5 per cent), Romania (2.3 per cent) and the Netherlands (2 per cent). About one quarter of all foreigners living in Germany (1.61 million) in 2011 were Turkish nationals, about 13 per cent were nationals of one of the successor states of former Yugoslavia (Croatia - 3.2 per cent, Serbia – 2.9 per cent, Bosnia and Herzegovina – 2.2 per cent, and Kosovo – 2 per cent)[4].

Compared to the average length of stay of foreigners in Germany (19 years in 2011), nationals of countries involved in former West German guest worker recruitment programmes have generally remained longer in Germany (e.g. Turkey – 24.8 years, Italy – 28.4 years, Greece – 27.1 years, and Croatia – 29.1 years). Also, the length of stay of foreigners from Austria (28 years) and the Netherlands (23.2 years) is above average, while the length of stay of foreigners from Eastern Europe lies below average (Poland – 9.7 years, Russia – 9.2 years, Romania – 6 years, Kosovo – 13.9 years, and Ukraine – 9.8 years)[5]. After the number of people moving to Germany reached a low point in 1996 (about 662,000 people), immigration has risen since and reached a preliminary peak of 1,081,000 immigrants in 2012, which is 13 per cent more than in 2011 and the highest number since 1995. Since 1996, Poland is the most important sending country for migrants coming to Germany with 184,000 people moving from Poland to Germany in 2012, which constitutes an increase of seven per cent compared to 2011. Migration from Romania (+23 per cent) and Bulgaria (+14 per cent) also increased significantly in 2012 in comparison to 2011. In contrast, the volume of migration from Turkey – the migrant segment with the highest migrant stock in Germany – has decreased since 2006 (BAMF, 2014a).

Since 2005, the volume of outmigration from Germany has remained relatively stable with an absolute number of 712,000 people in 2012. Just as immigration to Germany from Poland, return migration from Germany to Poland increased significantly by seven per cent in comparison to 2011. Due to the increase of the volume of immigration, 2012 showed the highest positive migration balance since 1995, with a net migration gain of 369,000 people. In 2012, more German nationals left Germany than returned, leading to a negative balance of -18,000 persons (BAMF, 2014a).

[3] www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61646/migrationshintergrund-i

[4] www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61631/staatsangehoerigkeit

[5] www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61631/staatsangehoerigkeit

## 2.3. Overview immigration policies from 1965-2000

In 1965, a decade after the start of the first guest worker agreement, the German Parliament adopted the Foreigners Law (*Ausländergesetz*). Major aspects covered by the law were the introduction of a residence permit for foreigners living in Germany, regulations on aylum and deportation, as well as regulations in case of delinquent behaviour by foreigners. Yet, it did not cover any aspects related to the integration of foreigners into German society. After 1973, when labour recruitment agreements had ended and many former guest workers had decided to stay and to bring family members to Germany, the tenor of the German government against immigration became more explicit. Along the lines of the government's policy that Germany should not be considered an immigration country[6], a statement by the Cabinet of the FRG in February summarises the basic points of this policy:

- "Effective limitation of continued immigration of foreigners into the FRG;
- Reinforcement of willingness to return home;
- Improvement of the economic and social integration of those foreigners who have been living in the Federal Republic of Germany for many years, and clarification of their residency rights." (Hennessy, 1982:638)

In 1983, the Law for the Promotion of Foreigners' Repatriation (*Rückkehrförderungsgesetz*) came into force, providing financial stimuli and subsidising voluntary return of foreigners living in Germany to their countries of origin. 250,000 migrants made use of this law, which left the government's expectations with respect to numbers largely unmet (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011). In the early 1990s, the same conservative government under Chancellor Helmut Kohl replaced the 1965 Foreigners Law by a new legislation, which for the first time mentioned the possibility of naturalisation for foreigners living in Germany for more than 15 years.

Also in the early 1990s, two laws ended the strict non-immigration policy that had been adopted since 1973. The FRG issued a decree on exeptions from the halt of recruitment. Contract labourers and seasonal workers were now allowed again to work in Germany for a limited period of time and under certain conditions. At the same time, the GDR issued a law facilitating the immigration of Jews from the former Soviet Union (ibid.)
In 1993, the German government adopted the Asylum Procedure Act (*Asylverfahrensgesetz*), which officially recognized the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention of the UNHCR. Yet, in response to the public discourse, which had constructed an image of too

[6] www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article118643664/CDU-und-Kohl-erst-Heimschicker-dann-Integrierer.html

many refugees entering Germany in the early 1990s, asylum seekers were now only accepted if they had not entered Germany via a safe third country. As a consequence, people wishing to apply for asylum in Germany could now only enter via an airport (ibid.). The 1995 agreement about the repatriation of Vietnamese citizens included the gradual repatriation of 40,000 Vietnamese citizens (Treibel, 2008). In this vein, it was intended to repatriate 2,500 people in 1995, 5,000 people in 1996 and finally 40,000 people in 2000. The agreement particularly targeted former contract workers, asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants (Deutscher Bundestag, 1996).

In 1997, the Amendment to the Foreigners Law underpinned the already restrictive character of the Foreigners Law of 1990. In this reconfiguration it was provided that "unaccompanied minors from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, Morocco and Tunisia" as well as already resident foreign children from these states (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011: 101) required visas or a residence permit, respectively, for the entrance and the stay in the country. The reform of the law on nationality in 1999 was a clear countermovement to the Amendment of 1997. In this reform, it was specified that children of foreign parents born in Germany can obtain German citizenship, if one parent has lived permanently in Germany for at least eight years (Bade & Oltmer, 2004).

In 2000, an independent Commission on Immigration was built up. The commission's main claim was a substantial change to the contemporary policies on migration and integration. The conviction was that due to economic and demographic trends, a controlled immigration of high-skilled foreigners should be allowed (ibid.), for instance by the implementation of a German Green Card (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011).

### 2.4. General trends of Asian migration to Germany

After this overview of past and current migration patterns for the case of Germany and related policies, the text will now turn to general trends of Asian migration, historically and at present.

*History*

Historically, in the context of West German guest worker programmes in the 1960s, migrants from South Korea were recruited, particularly to work in mining. Yet, their share of 8,000 people (Kreienbrink & Mayer, 2014) is small compared to the total of about 2.6 million guest workers who lived in Germany when recruitment ceased in 1973. Also, recruitment of nurses from South Korea and the Philippines from the 1960s on only brought a small number of Asians to Germany. Vietnamese nationals constituted until 2011 the largest group of Asian migrants in Germany, which was caused by two historical developments. Between 1978 and 1982, West Germany had provided asylum to 23,000 refugees from Vietnam. At the same

time, East Germany had recruited workers from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (Kreienbrink & Mayer 2014).

Another important inflow of Asian migrants to Germany already took place in the early 1950s. It was represented by Chinese immigrants, who "gradually developed restaurants as a niche of entrepreneurship and employment, [therewith they tried to compensate] limited opportunities for Chinese in the local labour market" (Christiansen & Xiujing, 2007: 289). The highly heterogeneous Chinese immigration was mainly based on chain migrants and refugees, those numbers increased until 2000 to an estimated 100,000 persons (ibid: 290). Also between 1963 and 1980 around 8,000 male miners from South Korea were recruited temporarily (BAMF, 2014a: 8). After 1965 the political response to the scarcity in nursing care was the recruitment of skilled nurses; first in the 1960s from China and the Philippines, and then in the 1970s from South Korea (ibid.).

*Current situation*

The largest group of immigrants to Germany is represented by people from former und new member states of the European Union (EU). This is related to the permission of free movement of workers from EU countries, as well as to the enlargement of the EU. According to the most recent report on Germany's migration profile in 2012 by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge - BAMF*), the percentage of this type of immigration amounted in 2004 to 40.6 per cent and rose in 2012 to 63.9 per cent, whereby immigration from the new EU-member states increased by 18.8 per cent, significantly represented by immigrants from Poland and increasingly from Bulgaria and Romania (BAMF, 2014a). This influx is followed by immigrants from other European countries outside the EU. This percentage decreased from 27.4 per cent in 2004 to 21.4 per cent of all migrants in 2012. The next largest immigration group is represented by international movers from the continent of Asia. This regional group was represented by 14.5 per cent of all international immigrants in 2004 and declined slightly to 12.4 per cent in 2012. This category is followed by immigrants from Africa (3.2 per cent) and America (6.3 per cent) in 2012 (BAMF, 2014a).

China, Vietnam and Iraq were the most highly represented nationalities among Asian migrants with 1.2 per cent each, followed by Thailand, Iran and India with 0.8 per cent each. Since 2011, Chinese migration to Germany has been strongly growing, a trend which continued in 2012, making migration from China the largest migrant inflow from Asia (Kreienbrink & Mayer, 2014). The migration balance between China and Germany was positive in 2012 (+ 6,688), with 21,575 persons coming to Germany from China and 14,887 persons leaving Germany for China. The most important category of Chinese migrants are students, followed by skilled and high-skilled workers (see table 1). A similar trend shows for

the case of India with 17,474 immigrants and 11,262 emigrants, leading to a migration balance of +6,212 persons in 2012. The most important categories of migrants from India are also skilled and high-skilled workers as well as their family members (BAMF, 2014a). Recently, growing fears of shortages of professionals on the German labour market have generated a public debate about the need to recruit skilled workers. In general, migration from Asia is considered an important source of skilled labour, including engineers (Kreienbrink & Mayer, 2014).

**Table 1**: Most important categories of residence for selected countries 2012 (persons in absolute numbers)

| | **Higher education** | **Language course, education** | **Other training** | **Employment** | **Humanitarian reasons** | **Family reasons** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **China** | 7.685 | 435 | 408 | 3.352 | 51 | 1.974 |
| **India** | 2.598 | 46 | 351 | 4.978 | 50 | 3.634 |
| **Ukraine** | 955 | 96 | 86 | 1.495 | 145 | 1.937 |

*Source: BAMF, 2014a*

Highly qualified labour migrants from China and India are predominantly male, while labour migrants from Ukraine are predominantly female, working in unqualified employment. Table 2 shows that the gender ratio of migrants is significantly dissimilar for different Asian countries. The major country of origin of academics is India, with a share of 39 per cent of all migrant academics. Further important countries of origin are China (6.3 per cent), the Russian Federation (5.8 per cent), and Ukraine (3.3 per cent).

**Table 2**: Gender ratio of immigrants from selected Asian countries in 2012

| | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| China | 48per cent | 52per cent |
| India | 68per cent | 32per cent |
| Ukraine | 35per cent | 65per cent |
| Philippines | 75per cent | 25per cent |
| Thailand | 26per cent | 74per cent |

*Source: BAMF, 2014a*

Thus although Asians are currently not among the most important group of migrants in Germany as far as numbers are concerned, their importance, particular for the German education system and for the German labour market, is likely to grow in the future. The most

relevant categories of migrants from Asia in Germany will be discussed in detail in chapter three of this report.

### 2.5. Concepts

After addressing immigration trends in a historic context, respective policies, and contemporary general trends, in the last subsection of these chapter central concepts will be discussed. Hence, the aim is to set a first conceptual framework. The following concepts are considered as significant for this document:

a) *Transformation*: Transformation represents a broad concept. In a more narrow sense the term can be divided into two successive elements: i) global economic and political transformation refers to global economic and political restructuring, which is based mainly on global economic trends and international policies and decision-making processes that have concrete repercussion on the regional, national and local levels (Glick Schiller, 2009). ii) Social transformation refers to the ways how societies or communities are organised and how these social organisation forms consequently are changing (Castles, 2007). In the context of migration this means that newly emerging migration patterns assumedly will lead to social transformation and affect societal organisation in sending and receiving regions.

b) *Migrant networking*: In the specific case of migration, there is the conviction that networks (Castells, 1996), which connect for example international migrants with home community members or diaspora members with each other, are an important aspect of the transnational migration process, which need to be analytically taken into account when studying transnationalism. Migrant networks are crucial, because they facilitate migration (first of all international migration) processes, especially circular temporal types and chain migration. The reason is that this kind of network allows potential migrants to minimise the risks of failure and the costs of migrating, and to maximise the efficiency of migration purposes by obtaining relevant information about passage and labour conditions in the host countries before starting the movement (Massey, 1993, Faist, 2010). Furthermore, networks are important to coordinate and operationalise complex forms of collective social practices, such as civil society activism and the strategic planning of collective development goals. These kinds of information pools are important for migrants; they are based on resources that humans allocate and solidify through social networks.

c) *Transnational social space (TSS)*: Social formations are constituted in specific TSSs. In these social spheres, international migrants are accomplishing different kinds of social practices. In the words of Faist TSSs "(…) consist of combinations of ties and their concepts,

positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places" (2000: 197). Social formations can be constituted in different qualitative types. Accordingly, Faist distinguishes between three different forms: transnational kinship groups, transnational circuits, and transnational communities.

c) *Migrant remittances*: Remittances refer to material and immaterial transfers that international migrants carry out in the course of their residence in receiving countries. Financial remittances are the most known and studied form of remittances. The prominence of financial remittances probably has to do with the fact that mainstream ideas and discourses about the potential of international migrants to represent the engine of local, regional and then national development, were supported by quantitative evidence, as well as by some scholarly studies on migrants' transnationality. In international political discourses, both were arranged to fit into existing economic ideology and to align with international and national institutional interests.
Social remittances are understood as the transfer of ideas, practices, know-how, and skills. This information and these skills are acquired by international migrants through their integration into the receiving societies. With the transfer of social remittances there is potential to promote local and regional development in the home regions. Social remittances can be differentiated into practices, identities, norms, and social capital (Levitt, 2001).

d) *Brain drain (BD), brain gain (BG), brain circulation (BC) and human capital (HC) formation*: Brain drain is a term that critically addresses the outflow of high-skilled workers from developing to developed countries in order to seek better labour opportunities (Kwok and Leland, 1982). In the broad literature on the 'brain drain problem' we can find two main analytical strands: On the one hand, there is the observation that the outflow of professionals leads to a short-term adverse impact for developing countries, because of the loss of important tax revenues, due to the fact that skilled workers are often representing the highest income groups of labour markets. In the case of outmigration, these society segments cannot be taxed, neither the revenues can be redistributed (Bhagwati & Hamada 1974, 1982). Furthermore, the sending countries cover the charges of the formation of human capital (e.g. the infrastructure building, the formation and payment of teachers), but do not obtain the returns to this educational investment. On the other hand, based on the idea that a part of economic growth arises from the accumulation of human capital (Lucas, 1988), with the drain of human capital, that is to say skilled labourers, the economic productivity and the per capita income minimise, and accordingly economic development in the sending economy is decelerated (Haque & Kim, 1995). The counterargument is represented by the terms brain

gain or brain circulation. Within this rationale, there is the idea that the loss of skilled workers in the short and middle-term can have in the long-term certain development benefits for the sending countries. According to Stark, migration policy can serve "(…) as a tool to mitigate the inefficiency arising from human capital externalities" (2003: 17), which can bring along that migration can stimulate the human capital building. This inducement effect "(…) raises the level of human capital of all workers, including the workers who stay at home (…) and consequently welfare can potentially be improved by the option of migration. The ''brain gain'' could then exceed the ''brain drain'' for the home country's total human capital (ibid.). From a cross-border perspective, migrant networks, but also different types of remittances, understood as a result of transnational ties and practices can be focused on for analysing brain circulation.

# 3. Migration from Asia to Germany: National Policies, Existing Research and Empirical

As the previous sections suggest, immigration plays an increasingly important role in Germany. The objective of this section is to put a particular focus on temporary immigration from Asia to Germany. Therewith, it is aimed to better understand which migrant categories exist and are relevant, as well as what the specific characteristics are within these immigrant groups. Therefore, in the first part of this section we discuss existing research and national immigration policies by using relevant academic literature and policy reports, thereafter we aim to explore existing statistical information with regard to specific Asian migration categories to Germany. In order to complete this panorama, we will also focus on German emigration towards Asia. In the same way, we will discuss some relevant categories and concepts for this type of migration flows and underpin these insights by statistical data.

## 3.1. Germany's course towards an active immigration policy after 2000

As noted above, immigration from Asia to Germany is marked by diverse types of human mobility. This trend stays closely in relation to political opening and closing mechanisms, and these mechanisms in turn are linked to societal and global trends. There are different moments, in which these political tools are used and are influencing the Asian-German immigration context significantly. Before addressing particular immigrant categories in Germany, it seems important to consider in detail public initiatives and immigration policies after 2000 and to discuss them.

The development of the German immigration policy shows that after the recruitment ban in 1973 the country started again to open gradually the national borders since 2000. In the guest worker programme after the mid-1950s recruitment was mainly based on low-

skilled labour immigration from European states. To the present, a recruitment ban for non-European low-skilled workers is maintained and the need for low-skilled immigrant segments has recently been addressed through the EU enlargement and the permission of free movement of workers in the frame of the European Union member states that contemporarily includes labour immigration principally from Poland, Bulgaria and Romania (BAMF, 2014a).
The shortage of skilled and high-skilled persons that is discussed as a future development issue due to demographic change, Germany turned towards an active immigration policy, in which non-European countries play an increasingly important role Mayer, 2013). One reason for the increasing relevance on Non-European immigrants could be the fact that most EU member states suffer under the same demographic problem (the ageing and shrinking of population) (Angenendt & Parkes, 2011). To compensate this dilemma, political initiatives and reforms were oriented towards attracting actively international professionals. This political opening process towards the attraction of foreign skilled and high-skilled personnel broadens the immigration scope to Asian sending countries.

One of the first political initiatives to attract professionals to Germany was the so-called German "Green Card", also known as the immediate-action programme to cover the IT-skilled worker gap (*Sofortprogramm zur Deckung des IT-Fachkräftebedarfs*), implemented in 2000. This temporary high-skilled labour recruitment programme aimed to attract IT-experts from non-European countries to Germany. The intention was to offer high-skilled IT-personnel a five year residence and work permit in order to meet the needs of Germany for IT-specialists in a short-term (Westerhoff, 2007). Accordingly, in the frame of the German Green Card from 2000 to 2004 around 18,000 IT-Experts arrived to Germany, mainly from India, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, the Baltic States and Romania (Kolb, 2005). The high-skilled labour recruitment programme was a relatively spontaneous reaction to the shortage in the IT-sector, but the first explicit political measure to attract professionals to Germany, which however did not meet expectations in terms of numbers (Westerhoff, 2007).

Nonetheless, the German government kept this political direction and the programme disembogued in 2005 to the New Foreigner Law (*Neues Zuwanderungsgesetz*) that, inter alia, institutionalised the privileged entrance of professionals.

In this vein, the New Foreigner Law (NFL) represented an important legal change related to immigration-concerning politics of the country. The NFL consists of two articles containing policies related to the following aspects: Article 1 is divided into the Politics of Integration (*Integrationspolitik*), and the Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*). Article 2 regulates the free entrance, stay, and settlement of EU nationals in EU member states.
Article 1, which is the core piece of the NFL, contains central aspects regarding the promotion and recruitment of skilled and high-skilled personnel, which can be resumed as followed:

a) *Reforms in the Residence Act*: According to the reform, short-term stays (visas) are defined in the framework of NFL as an independent residence title. After the entry per national visa, a long-term stay can be requested that is regulated as temporary residence permit (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) or as perpetual settlement permit (*Niederlassungserlaubnis*). Temporary residence permits can be granted for educational, occupational, humanitarian or family unification reasons, in contrast perpetual settlement permits can be requested, in combination with the fulfilment of other regimentations (e.g. guarantee of the foreigners subsistence, absence of a criminal record, sufficient knowledge of the language) after a five year period (Schneider, 2007).

b) *Reformation of temporal stays for studies and vocational training*: In the NFL of 2005, foreigners have the right to obtain renewable temporal residence permission for the purpose of university application, or university studies. Temporal residence permits are also assigned to German language students and in exceptional cases for school attendance. With the permission of the Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*) foreigners can obtain temporary legal stays to carry out vocational training (Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012).

c) *Changes to the labour migration regulation*: Since 1973, there is a general ban of recruitment, which remained in force also after the implementation of the NFL, meaning that a fundamental limitation on admission to the labour market is continuing. However, exceptions exist for some occupational sectors and specific cases, such as high-skilled immigrants and their families. For these segments, some processes related to the stay in Germany, such as obtaining visas, residence permits and permanent residence are facilitated. For instance, these migrant categories can obtain the permanent residence permission directly after entering the country. Family members of high-skilled immigrants have also legal advantages, for example they obtain their labour permission directly after entrance. Entrepreneurs can obtain a residence permit, if the business/investment idea meets the country's particular economic interests, or if there is a regional need that the business idea can accomplish. Educational immigrants have the right to stay for a further year after graduation (since 2012 1.5 year) to look for an appropriate job (ibid.).

d) *Foreign researcher residence*: With the objective to carry out investigations, foreign researchers have the right to receive residence allowance. Thereby it is required that the foreigner collaborates directly in a German research institute that is formally recognized by the BAMF. The cooperation is recognised if there is a hosting agreement between the foreigner and the research institute. The respective residence allowance is defined as a simplified procedure, meaning that the procedure is carried out without the institutional involvement of the foreigners' registration office (Ausländerbehörde).

e) *Immigration due to humanitarian, political or similar reasons*: Germany hosts foreigners for humanitarian reasons or according to international refugee law. An important change to German asylum law in the context of NFL is the inclusion of the EU Qualification Directive, according to which refugee status will also be granted in case of non-state and gender-specific persecution (EFMS Migration Report, July 2004).

f) *Family reunification*: Foreign spouses joining their partners in Germany need to prove that they can communicate in basic German before they are allowed to enter the country. Also, both partners need to be 18 years of age or older. Foreigners who want to bring their spouses to Germany must possess a valid residence permit and be able to provide sufficient living space and resources to make a living. Spouses are allowed to work in Germany. Children must be younger than 16 years of age to join their parents or show the potential and willingness to integrate into life in Germany if they are between 16 and 18 years of age (BAMF, 2013).

g) *Promotion of Integration*: Social integration into the host country is another important realm in the NFL. In this vein, it is aimed to enable immigrants' widespread and equitable participation in all societal realms. This includes the study of the German language and the obtainment of knowledge about important aspects of the German constitution laws (Schneider, 2007).

These reforms displayed fundamental political decisions for the future immigration policy in Germany. Consequently, the German immigration policy of 2005 was oriented towards the initial attraction of certain types of temporal immigrants from third countries (non-European Union countries). As specified above, these types can be defined as professionals (skilled and high-skilled persons, including academics and researchers, as well as university students). Through different legal measures the entrance and stay of skilled and high-skilled foreign workers and their family members should be facilitated. Thus, the objective was to retain these types of immigrants in the long-term, meaning in other words that temporary high-skilled and skilled immigration should be converted into permanent influxes over time. This in turn is closely related to the shortage of professionals due to demographic changes that the country is confronting. Consequently, the NFL represents a legal corner stone for promoting the influx of professionals that can be specified in several categories of international migrants, such as locally recruited experts, entrepreneurs, independent skilled and high-skilled job seekers, researchers, academics and international students. The immigration trend over the last years shows that an increasing number of these migrant categories are dominated by individuals from Asia, as considered in more detail in chapter 3.

The 2007 Directive Implementation Act (*Reform des Zuwanderungsgesetzes gemäß der EU-Richtlinien*) is an amendment of the NFL, regulating residence in Germany in the

categories of family reunification and asylum according to European directives. Germany fully adopted the 2003 European Council Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification in 2007. Much of the content of the directive is based on the draft Immigration Act (2001-2004) so that the existing Residence Act, which regulated family reunification before 2007, was only marginally amended. One of the major goals stated in the Residence Act was the promotion of integration of foreigners by means of compulsory integration courses, and through the minimum age of 18 years for the reunification of spouses (Kreienbrink & Rühl, 2007). Two further stated aims of the directive are avoiding "potential abuse through sham marriages and bogus adoptions, as well as combating forced marriages" (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011: 104). A policy brief by the European Migration Network (EMN, 2012) concludes that, despite the media discourse, which suggests that fake marriages and acknowledgements of paternity are a common phenomenon, it is not possible to quantify these cases and to compare their frequency at the European level.

The **European Council Directive 2003/9/EC (reception directive)** on the reception of applicants for asylum in European Member States as well as the **European Council Directive 2004/83/EC (qualification directive)** were followed by changes to German national asylum law in 2007. The new national law provides legal ground for the immediate deportation of persons linked to terrorism and related activities. Additionally, it ordains to "sentence traffickers to imprisonment" and "introduced a residence title for victims of trafficking" (Borkert & Bosswick, 2011). "Longstanding cases of asylum seekers", meaning refugees, who have been for many years 'tolerated' in Germany (*Duldung*) without regular residence title were also regulated in this Act (ibid.). Yet, while the European directives seem to promise more rights for asylum seekers and refugees, German NGOs are concerned about their implementation at the national level. They claim that fundamental issues are inadequately addressed, for example the mentioned regulation of 'tolerated' persons only applies for few people and 'chain tolerations' (*Kettenduldungen*), which leave asylum seekers in limbo for many years in a row, are still a very common procedure[7].

**The law on the regulation of labour migration** (*Arbeitsmigrationssteuerungsgesetz*) of 2008 is an additional legal measure to stimulate the attraction of foreign professionals, as well as entrepreneurs to the country. Therefore, the income limit of high-skilled persons, who receive an immediate residence allowance was reduced from the assessment ceiling of 86,500€ to 63,600€. Meanwhile, the minimum investment amount of foreign entrepreneurs was decreased from 500,000€ to 250,000€ (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2008). With the

[7] http://www.proasyl.de/en/news/news-english/news/implememtattion_of_asylum_eu_politics_dt_vorlage

implementation of the law also a general legal framework for the procedure of the recognition of foreign qualifications was created. In this vein, the law improved the detection and recognition of professional qualifications (university degrees) that are acquired abroad, in Germany that above all alleviate the recognition procedures of citizens from non-European countries. The legal entitlement was stipulated as a working mechanism, independent of the residence status working mechanism. This means that, for instance, also asylum seekers have the right for recognition of qualifications acquired abroad. In this vein, the law on the regulation of labour migration and its inherent right for the recognition of qualifications has broadened the group of foreign people, who potentially could integrate into the German labour market. Furthermore, the law implicated an additional facilitation of the entrance and stay of scholars and family members from non-European countries (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2008). In other words, with this law it was intended to remove still existing bureaucratic hurdles and therewith additionally facilitate the procedure of recognition of university qualifications for professionals from non-European economies. Furthermore, the objective was to give labour market access to professionals, who previously did not have a work permit due to their legal status. Also, the law on the regulation of labour migration represents an attempt to promote the entrance to and activation of already existing high-skilled persons in Germany.

This measure was followed by the **Implementation of the EU-Directive for High-qualified Immigrants, Blue Card** (*Umsetzung der EU-Hochqualifizierten-Richtlinie*) in August 2012, which is a further measure initiated by the European Union in order to stimulate and facilitate the entrance and temporal stay of high-skilled personnel from third country states. The EU directive was introduced in Germany in August 2012 (BAMF, 2014a). The objective of the Blue Card was to create a particular residence title for high-skilled workers on the EU-level and therewith combating the existing high-skilled shortage more effectively by reducing once again the bureaucratic barriers, as well as to contain brain drain in the EU (Wogart & Schüller, 2011). The Blue Card is temporarily limited for a period of four years. Under certain preconditions, however, facilitated permanent settlement permission can be awarded (BAMF, 2014b). Entitled persons for receiving the Blue Card are those foreigners, who have a German, recognised foreign or equivalent higher education qualification. Additionally, the foreign professionals need to proof an "annual minimum gross salary of currently EUR 47,600" (BAMF, 2014b). Exception exists in so-called bottleneck occupations, represented by professions such as engineers, scientists, mathematicians, doctors or IT-experts, where the minimum gross salary amounts to 37,128€ (ibid.). The implementation of the directive in Germany also includes the entrance of foreign professionals with the objective to search for a job. Accordingly, foreigners with a German university degree or a recognized or equivalent foreign university degree have the right to enter to Germany in order to search for

adequate job opportunities. An entry visa allows stays until six months, whereby a proof of a secured livelihood is required (Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012).

The EU Blue Card was a particular attempt within the EU community of states to arrange basic principles for control and regulate immigration of high-skilled professionals from non-European countries, meaning that also the high-skilled influx should be facilitated by removing bureaucratic barriers. However, after the implementation of the German immigration policy in the existing Residence Act, the implicated legal rights for professionals exceeded the regulations under the Blue Card for non-European immigrants, meaning that Germany's immigration policies offered additional benefits for non-European professionals and their respective sending regions. Mayer (2013) addresses these aspects by revealing the following points: a) the short period for the issuance of the perpetual settlement permit, b) job search permit for high-skilled personnel, c) the expansion in the earning opportunities for foreign students (from 90 days to 120 days per year), d) the extension of the period for searching a job after university studies from 12 months to 18 months, and e) the prevention of brain drain by different measures and public initiatives (Mayer 2013:15), and f) the resident permit after completing vocational training in order to find employment in the learned profession (BAMF, 2014a: 91).

Although the Blue Card is recognised as an appropriate step towards the attraction of non-European third country professionals to Europe and especially to Germany in political and academic discussions, the regulation, its implementation, and its success are discussed and critically addressed in the next section.

With the **amendment in the employment regulation** (*Novelle der Beschäftigungsverordnung*) in July 2013, it was aimed to restructure and facilitate the previous employment regulation. Therefore, different types of skilled foreign workers (Blue Card holders, foreigners with a German University degree, executives and experts etc.) were subsumed in the second part of the regulation. Additionally, reforms were accomplished for specialised foreign personnel without an academic degree. Previously, the occupation permit for qualified occupations was granted for foreigners, who accomplished their vocational training in Germany. Yet, this regulation was loosened and skilled personnel, who received vocational education (minimum of two years) in a third country, can validate the respective certification in Germany. However, the Federal Agency for Employment has a regulatory function, meaning that the institution controls the skilled personnel flows to Germany according to the domestic sectorial needs and existing bottleneck professions (BAMF, 2014a). Furthermore, the regulatory function should serve to avoid brain drain from developing and emerging countries by limiting immigration in the context of bottleneck professions to only selected sending countries (Mayer, 2013).

With the amendment in the employment regulation a fundamentally reconfigured and simplified regulation was accomplished. According to Mayer (2013), the paradigm change towards an offensive recruitment of professionals from Non-European countries, which was initiated through the implementation of the EU-Directive, was yet transferred to the German employment regulation (ibid: 17). Therewith, also skilled immigrants with foreign qualification have the right to legal recognition and the right to work formally in the respective sectors in Germany.

**The law for the improvement of the legislation for international beneficiaries of protection and foreign employees** (*Gesetz zur Verbesserung der Rechte von international Schutzberechtigten und ausländischen Arbeitnehmern*) of August 2013 was designed to enhance the legal framework for both international beneficiaries and foreign employees by addressing foreigners, who already reside or stay in Germany or who are about to receive a residence title. This group of immigrants obtains with this law the right to look for a job, which is appropriate with respect to their qualifications, previous to the obtainment of a residence permit[8].

In summary, it can be said that since 2000 Germany has endeavoured to attract and recruit professionals from abroad and increasingly from non-European third countries. Since 2005, several legal reforms were accomplished to facilitate the entrance of professionals, and on these grounds it can be argued that Germany currently represents one of the countries in the European Union "with least restrictions on the employment oriented immigration of highly-skilled workers" (OECD, 2013: 15). With the above addressed legal measures, it is aimed to respond politically to the expected adverse impacts of the demographic change (population aging and long-term shrinking) that most of the European countries and especially Germany will confront in the future. Accordingly, through the NFL and the related following reforms, opening mechanisms were created for immigration from third countries that are, however, selective in nature. Since the 1990s the migratory relation to Asia was not of high importance. This is changing gradually in the context of the immigration of high-skilled personnel, initiated in Germany in the afterwards of the German Green-Card implementation. This means that international immigration from Asia to Germany is developing to an increasingly important factor in German society. As illustrated in detail below, empirical evidence exists that in the last years sending countries of high-skilled immigrants and foreign students are increasingly represented by countries of Eastern Asia, South Asia and South-East Asia.

[8] http://dipbt.bundestag.de/extrakt/ba/WP17/508/50828.html

Relevant immigrant categories and societal consequences of these influxes are discussed in the following sections, based on existing literature as well as statistical data.

### 3.2. Literature review on relevant categories of Asian migrants

The recent far-reaching amendments to migration policies in Germany, as analysed above, have the potential to significantly change existing patterns of immigration, migrant settlement and activities of migrants. The following sections will review existing studies about several of these consequences with particular relevance related to Asian migration to Germany. The section is divided along the lines of different migrant categories, which are most representative in the context of temporary Asian migration to Germany. With regard to the immigration of foreign skilled and high-skilled persons, students, academics, researchers and entrepreneurs, the public interest to attract these particular segments increased in the last years significantly and therewith the political opening mechanisms were and are oriented towards this immigrant groups. In some sectors, it can be argued that the country is needing and promoting actively low-skilled, but above all skilled and high-skilled foreign labour in order to compensate for transformations of societal structures (e.g. the negative effects of demographic change) and to adapt to requirements in the competition in the global economy. In this globalised context the influx and recruitment of Asian migrants plays an ever more important role. The particular focus in the following sections lies with migration from the EURA-NET partner countries, which are identified as sending countries: China, India, Thailand, the Philippines and Ukraine.

*Professionals: Qualified and highly-qualified immigrants*

The need for high-skilled persons, as well as political efforts to attract these immigrant segments, have encouraged a broad discourse in Germany over the last years. Therewith, immigration from third-countries, and especially from Asian countries, came into the public and academic focus.

The main reasons addressed are on the one hand, first shortages of professionals in certain occupational sectors and regions due to past labour market fluctuations that adversely affected the demand for particular professions (Mayer, 2014). While the demand for labourers decreased in certain sectors, as a reaction also the numbers of German university students and graduates relevant for these sectors declined, leading to sectorial labour bottlenecks, such as in the sectors of mathematics, engineering, informatics, human medicine etc. (Möller, der Spiegel, 11.06.12).

On the other hand, demographic change, i.e. low birth rates that will lead to a shrinking population size and an ageing society, is a crucial factor that will gradually lead to a skilled and high-skilled worker shortage in the long term (Mayer, 2014). Based on estimates

of the Institute for Employment Research, the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales – BMAS*) argues that in the period between 2010 and 2025 the number of potential workforces will decrease by 6.5 million (BMAS, 2011: 10). These unfavourable trends are threatening the future economic development, as well as Germany's competitive role in the global economy, because a successful competition in a globalised economic world is directly linked to the availability and deployment of professionals (Boswell & Straubhaar, 2005). Hence, due to the existing domestic shortages the entry and stay of skilled and high-skilled immigrants are of crucial importance for the future of the country.

Professionals are generally defined as skilled and high-skilled persons. According to the definition by the German government, qualified immigrants are defined as labourers, who completed a vocational training, and high-qualified third country nationals are defined as migrants with a recognised university degree (Mayer, 2014). Furthermore, scientists and researchers, certain kinds of entrepreneurs, as well as intra-company transferees are defined as high-qualified individuals. Additionally, international university students are perceived as future high-skilled personnel (ibid: 79). Also independent job seekers can be classified as a subfield of professionals, represented by mobile foreign persons, who enter to or stay after graduation in Germany with the objective to search for an adequate job opportunity.
In line with these definitions, the category of professionals embraces a multitude of subgroups. The present paper addresses under the category of professionals however only some of the noted subfields with the objective to obtain information about general trends and characteristics of the recently increasing immigration groups. The groups of professionals are considered here as a) locally recruited professionals, such as staff member in domestic enterprises, researchers and scientists in German academies and b) intra-company transferees: both subfields are defined and addressed in the respective legal context in the empirical part below[9].

With regard to the two subfields here classified as professionals, it can be argued that in recent academic debates, locally recruited professionals, researchers and scientists get more attention than intra-company transferees. Assumedly, this has to do on the one hand with public prominence of the German Green Card and the recent implementation of the Blue-Card; both represent political measures for facilitating the entrance and stay of locally recruited professionals. On the other hand, locally recruited professionals, researchers and

[9] International students and entrepreneurs are discussed separately, because of their high relevance in the German immigration framework

scientists are working mostly in German enterprises and universities, and obtain with the Blue Card very good preconditions in order to stay permanently in the country. In turn, intra-company-transferees are not considered under the Blue Card scheme, as they work in subsidiaries of foreign companies for a limited period of time, thereafter in most cases they return to their countries of origin. Accordingly, it can be argued that the academic and political debate around locally recruited professionals, researchers and scientists has intensified, because of their perceived particular potential as crucial forces in order to close the specific labour gaps in Germany.

Recently, in the context of immigration of high-skilled persons to Germany under the Blue Card scheme, mainly three interrelated aspects are considered as unfavourable influencing factors:

*First*, there are traditional industrialised countries, such as the USA or Canada in the international and the UK and Netherlands in the European context, which began at an early stage to provide incentives for the immigration of foreign professionals. These economies seems to be more effective in the recruitment of high-skilled persons, because they are, in contrast to countries such as Germany more successful in lowering the bureaucratic barriers for the entrance of this type of immigrants by developing recruitment programmes for limited stays or bilateral agreements on the recruitment of high-skilled migrants (Angenendt & Parkes, 2010). Some industrialised countries, such as the USA, have followed the strategy of recruiting high-skilled migrants for several decades, meaning that these immigration countries have important advantages in terms of experiences, but also the migration system is more established, leading to more solid cross-border social formations and social remittances to the migrants' countries of origin. These dynamics, in turn are likely to have spillover effects and increase the attractiveness of these receiving regions for new immigrants. Saxenian has revealed this context by analysing how US-educated Chinese-and Indian-born engineers working in Silicon Valley, USA are sending social remittances to their home regions through the cross-border construction of professional and business links. The author called this transnational social practices and respective flows of remittances brain circulation (2005: 36).

*Second*, linked to the concept of brain circulation, we can find emerging countries, particularly India and China, who indeed represent main source countries for professionals, but also have an increasing need for these high-skilled persons. In this vein, due to economic growth, to the expansion in the service sector, as well as to attractive incomes and upward mobility opportunities these emerging economies seem to offer enough incentives to convince professionals to stay in the country of origin (Finke, Der Spiegel, 11.05.12). In addition to these incentives, authorities of India and China seem to be very effective in the development and implementation of institutional programmes and networks for international mi-

grants, with which previously emigrated persons are supported explicitly and maintain a link to countries of origin. Thus, by these institutional strategies mobile individuals can be attracted successfully back to the country of origin (Wogart & Schüller, 2011).
In this vein, it is argued that other industrialized and transforming countries are strongly competing and the authors argue that through competition for professionals by these emerging countries the *global war for talents* has intensified (ibid.: 6).

*Finally*, it can be argued that besides high bureaucratic barriers (Angenendt & Parkes, 2010), also cultural and language barriers play an important role in the consideration of a potential immigration of professionals to Germany (Finke, Der Spiegel, 11.05.12). This includes also the domestic political and public controversy since 2000 in Germany (Mayer, 2013), regarding the question whether the skilled worker shortage should be compensated by the recruitment of foreign professionals or by specific training of domestic unemployed, as well as by the strategic education of young persons. The consideration of the recruitment of foreign professionals implicates the discussion around the creation of a culture of acceptance of these immigrant segments (*Willkommenskultur*).

These aspects that are reflected critically in the academic literature are discussed with regard to the success of the European Union and especially Germany in the attraction of professionals. Accordingly, it is argued that although Germany has advanced significantly in the implementation of legal reforms for providing incentives for the immigration of professionals and has started different public initiatives (Mayer, 2013), in order to attract professionals and researchers the achievements remain quiet small, which is in turn related to still too high bureaucratic and cultural barriers, as well as to too few incentives for high-skilled movers, above all for professionals from Asian emerging countries (Angenendt & Parkes, 2010; Wogart & Schüller, 2011). Therefore, it seems crucial to supply incentives beyond reducing hurdles that are, for instance, related to the freedom in designing mobility according to individual needs and visions of the future. Germany's immigration policy is, however, aligned towards permanent stays of professionals in order to compensate occupational bottlenecks in a long-term, meaning that in the legal immigration frame circular migration is indeed allowed but not explicitly promoted. This signifies that without an explicit permission or special arrangement, the exit is limited up to six months and in the case of the Blue Card up to 12 months and thereafter the residence permit expires. This demonstrates that the permitted period of time is too short to stimulate circularity, and there with the attractiveness of high-skilled immigration declines (Parusel & Schneider 2011: 34).

*International Students in Germany*

International students can embrace different kinds of immigrants, such as university students, language school students, apprentices or Au-Pair students. While all subfields are

considered in the empirical part, the focus is set in this literature review explicitly on international university students, due to the fact that the limited existing literature mainly refers to this student immigrant group.

Consequently, this group is in a certain way similarly discussed than high-skilled immigrants in general. They are perceived as one consequence of globalisation, because this process has facilitated the academic mobility importantly, meaning that "[e]ducation and research opportunities abroad have become more accessible, and in many regions efforts to increase capacity have not kept up with need and demand" (DAAD, 2012: 1). Including cooperation and students exchange among universities has increased through the intensification in the interconnectedness of different geographical regions.

In the recent academic literature mostly the benefits are discussed that international students conduce to Germany's progress. The respective literature mostly portrays a sometime critical review of public discourses. Furthermore, there are studies that address in particular the networking capacity that points towards the interconnectedness between international students in Germany, as well as transnational ties and practices that are linking international students with their countries of origin. Both topics will be discussed in the following.
International students are considered in many aspects as favourable for closing gaps in Germany's long-term demographic, economic, and educational development, as summarised in the following five points:

*First*, it is argued that international students represent generally spoken a mainly young immigrant segment, which can contribute for a longer time to the German labour market than other immigrant groups, provided that they stay after graduating for a longer period of time. This is particularly relevant for many European immigration countries and especially for Germany, because of expected future development issues due to demographic change. In line with this idea, international students could conduce to a positive demographic development in the country (Kolb, 2006).

*Second*, from a national economic point of view, it is assumed that international students receive a solid university education in Germany. Therewith, there are favourable conditions for getting excellent job opportunities. Accordingly, this means a win-win situation: while immigrants will obtain outstanding incomes, the state will receive monetary returns by income taxes, and the national economy in general will receive revenues by expenditures for subsistence (Schmidt, 1997; Kolb, 2006). Furthermore, it is assumed that this immigrant group will suffer less from unemployment, leading to fewer charges on the social security system (Klabunde, 2014).

*Third*, it is supposed that international students can contribute positively to the learning atmosphere and enhance it due to the enrichment by different languages, perspectives and cultural attitudes that could be beneficial for those German students, who do not have

the possibility to study abroad to obtain intercultural experiences (ibid.). Additionally, it is argued that international students have a distinguished perspective and expertise with regard to certain topics given to their formation in different educational systems. Thus, they can influence teaching through approaching contents in a different way that can lead to diverse thematic and didactic seminar methods (Ward, 2001). In this vein, the interaction with international students can have an important contribution in preparing domestic students for a globalised world, in which the communication with foreign actors is crucial.

*Fourth*, after graduating, international students could represent, due to their particular commercial understanding and intercultural communication skills, significant contact persons, particularly relevant for the export-oriented German economy (Klabunde, 2014).
*Finally*, it is argued that next to pronounced intercultural skills, international students possess particular sensitivity for linguistic proficiencies that facilitate the language learning process of the receiving country (Kolb, 2006), leading to fewer hurdles and less costs in the integration process in Germany.

International immigration by foreign students plays an increasingly important role in Germany. According to Isserstedt and Kandulla (2010), in 2009 after foreign students, who obtained their qualification abroad (*Bildungsausländer*) from European countries, Asian international students were the most significant *Bildungsausländer* group in Germany (2010: 11). In comparison to classical immigration countries of foreign university students, such as the USA or UK, the numbers of Asian *Bildungsausländer* in Germany are still very small (ibid: 9), and as illustrated in the empirical part, most Asian students do not stay permanently in Germany, which is assumedly also related to strategic political reforms in sending countries for promoting circular, temporary or return migration. According to Wolgart and Schüller, especially India and China governments accomplish effective legal, economic and social incentives in order to maintain tight contact or to stimulate international students to turn back (2011: 5) that probably counteract effectively to the objective that these segments stays over a long-term or permanently in Germany.

Schüller and Schüler-Zhou have analysed Chinese student and alumni associations and note that Chinese students maintain strong links to families, communities and state institutions in sending countries but also seek to get linked with the German society, as the following quotation reveals:

> "These associations offer opportunities to exchange information and also help to establish connections with home regions in China. Some of them enjoy financial support from the Chinese Embassy or the consulates, from the local governments of their hometowns in China and from overseas Chinese business leaders. One of the most important networks in this regard is the Federation of Chinese Scholars and Students Associations in Germany, founded in 2002 and located in Frankfurt/Main. Its primary mission is to promote communication and interaction between Chinese students,

> scholars and local Chinese communities and German society at large" (Schüller and Schüler-Zhou, 2011: 13).

This statement indicates that in the case of Chinese students transnational networks are created by cross-border social formations, as well as promoted actively by Chinese state institutions', local Chinese governments, or by other overseas transnational actors and migrant organisations. Therewith first important foundations are laid in order to institutionalise solid transnational social spaces and border crossing social practices in the near future. Nonetheless, there is also the interest to stay in active communication with the German society. This indicates that emerging Chinese migrant organisations in Germany aim to stimulate the university student exchange in a long run. It likely also portends that a more intensive post-graduate temporal or permanent stay is at least considered for the future. In order to obtain more detailed information on emerging Chinese and other student networks; its specific social practices with regard to sending and receiving, as well as with regard to other Chinese migrant organisations, further in-depth research needs to be carried out.

*Migrant entrepreneurs*

The importance of migrant entrepreneurship in Europe has been growing since the 1980s and in many cases migrants are more likely to be self-employed than the equally skilled native-born population (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009). For the case of Germany, a study by the German Institute for Employment Research (IAB) found that the share of migrants between 18 and 64 years who founded a business between 2008 and 2012 is with 5.3 per cent of the whole migrant population[10] equally high as the share of business foundations among people born in Germany (IAB, 2013)[11]. Another study argues that the share of migrants founding businesses is proportionally higher as compared to the total population in Germany, for instance migrants founded one third of all businesses established in 2010, and migrants are three times as likely to become entrepreneurs as the native German population. Yet, migrant businesses often operate for a shorter period of time, so that the high number of liquidations compensates for the surplus of business foundations (Leicht et al., 2010). The relatively short duration of migrant businesses in Germany is on the one hand caused by unsuccessful business plans, which force migrants to exit self-employment again quickly. On the other hand, migrants often use self-employment as a means to prevent unemployment. As a

[10] In this research migrants were defined as people born outside of Germany, independent of their nationality.

[11] http://www.spiegel.de/karriere/berufsstart/migranten-als-unternehmensgruender-in-deutschland-a-939427.html

consequence, in many cases, migrants tend to exit self-employment once they have got the opportunity to work in paid employment again (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009). Furthermore, regional differences between the German federal states are significant, showing that, for example, the state of *Baden-Württemberg* hosts the highest number of migrants but the lowest number of migrant entrepreneurs in a national comparison (Leicht et al., 2010).

Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp (2009) provide an overview of existing qualitative research on migrant entrepreneurship in Germany. They show that migrant entrepreneurs in Germany tend to be self-selected with respect to human capital, age, years since migration, family background characteristics, home ownership, and enclave living. Migrants maintaining strong intergenerational links, homeowners, as well as migrants experiencing financial worries or discrimination are more likely to be pulled into self-employment. Also, the likelihood of migrants becoming entrepreneurs increases with age and time elapsed since migration. EU migrants are more likely to become entrepreneurs in Germany than nationals from third countries.

Since January 2005, self-employed foreigners can be granted a residence permit in Germany under the condition that they produce a sound business plan, contribute to innovation and research in Germany, and provide the necessary experience and capital to establish and manage the proposed business. After three years, and in case of a successful realization of the planned activity, which needs to provide for the household income, the self-employed migrant may be granted a settlement permit (*Niederlassungserlaubnis*), allowing permanent residence and permitting migrants to work in Germany for an unlimited period of time (BAMF, 2014a: 78).

Unemployment is not the main cause of starting a business, but the motive for migration often is the lack of opportunities to start a business in their home country. Most migrants who come to Germany under this immigration scheme are educated above-average and have worked in their respective business segment before. Revenues are moderate with about 50,000€ annually. Most migrants did not invest 250,000€ or employ at least five people when they started their business, which are sufficient criteria to be granted access to the scheme. Yet, also without fulfilling these requirements migrants can be granted residence as an entrepreneur in case they are experienced in self-employment, have got a sustainable business idea and secure funding (Block & Klingert, 2012).

*Family reunification and marriage migration*

The volume of migration to Germany for family reunification has steadily declined from the early 2000s on (Kreienbrink & Rühl, 2007). This trend can to some extent be explained by the EU enlargement, leading to the fact that nationals of the new member countries do not need a visa anymore to enter Germany. Yet, as compared to the EU average, marriage mi-

gration and migration for family reunification still is of relative high importance in Germany. In 2009, 44.4 per cent of residence permits were issued for family reunification reasons. This number lies 16.2 percentage points above the EU average (Aybek et al., 2013). Migrants entering Germany in the context of family reunification are expected to stay in Germany on a long-time basis and are therefore not considered temporary migrants by the BAMF (BAMF, 2014a). On the other hand, migration for the purpose of family reunification is often closely linked to previous labour migration, which explains the high number of Indian women joining their husbands who are employed as skilled or high-skilled workers in Germany. In that sense migration for family reasons including marriage migration in many cases is "female" (ibid.)

Another aspect of marriage migration is the migration of spouses, mainly female and from developing countries, with the purpose of marrying a German partner, whom they not necessarily know. The rising importance of tourism to developing countries, particularly in Asia, in the 1970s has entailed a boom of agencies for the intermediation of spouses from developing countries for German "customers". These men generally choose their prospective brides from a catalogue, a service provided by agencies and more recently via Internet. The proportion of Asian women is about 15 per cent of the total number of women coming to Germany in the context of this kind of marriage migration (Stelzig-Willutzki, 2012). Thailand and the Philippines are the Asian nations with the highest proportion of marriage migration to Germany[12]. Ruenkaew (2006) illustrates for the example of Thailand that there are three ways in which women get involved in marriage migration to Germany (1) after internal labour migration and often a failed marriage in Thailand, (2) for women born in Bangkok directly without previous migration, or (3) after being engaged in prostitution, often marrying a customer.

*Refugees and asylum seekers*

Legislation related to asylum is regulated by German constitutional law (Grundgesetz), Article 16a states that politically persecuted foreigners enjoy the right to asylum in Germany. Political persecution, as defined in this context, can be executed by the state of the sending country or any organization that has taken over the role of the state (quasi-state persecution). The definition of a refugee is based on the wording of the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention, which says that a refugee is:

[12] http://www.migration-info.de/artikel/2005-12-16/heiratsmigration-nach-deutschland

> "any person who: owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country"
> (UNHCR, 2006: 16).

In 2005, in the context of the New Foreigner Law, gender was explicitly included as a recognized reason for persecution. Applications for asylum are treated on an individual basis by the BAMF, and foreigners whose application is denied can appeal against this decision in court. Yet, since a change to constitutional law in 1993, persons entering Germany through a safe third country do not enjoy the right to asylum because they could have applied for asylum in the country they entered through. Practically this means that refugees who are eligible for asylum in Germany can only enter via air or sea and not via land (BAMF, 2014a). This change of legislation had significant consequences for the protection of refugees in Germany and the number of people who were granted asylum. The conservative government in the early 1990s had sought to limit the increasing number of refugees entering Germany to apply for asylum, and to stimulate the integration of migrant populations already residing in Germany. In the context of politics of European integration, Germany tried to promote the creation of a common European legislation with respect to refugees and asylum (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2011).

German legislation seriously affects the living conditions of asylum applicants, who are forced to live in detention centres and are denied the right of free movement within Germany. Social benefits are almost exclusively provided in-kind and not on a monetary basis. The German constitutional court reconsidered some rejected cases of asylum applicants, arguing that not all European states could be considered safe-third-countries of entry (ibid.). These legislations and policies were established in the 1990s but currently still affect the living conditions of asylum seekers in Germany (Löhlein, 2010). They caused an intensive debate about the human rights of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in general. It was particularly initiated by German and international human rights organisations and took place in an increasingly xenophobic and racist political and societal climate. Since the early 1990s, much of the academic literature on refugees and asylum has concentrated on different aspects of the precarious situation of refugees and asylum seekers in Germany (Täubig, 2009, Kühne & Rüssler, 2010), or on their life stories (Heinrich & Hano, 1999, Krumbiegel & Arnold, 2005, Suvak & Hermann, 2008).

### 3.3. Quantities and characteristics of recent Asian immigrants

So far we have provided a general overview of Germany's migration profile, the development of migration policies, and then focused on the profile of migration from Asia to Germany, linked to these historic and policy developments. The report now turns to an analysis of available statistics and quantitative data on Asian migration to Germany, again focused on the most relevant categories in the Asian-German migration context: professionals, students, independent job seekers, migrant entrepreneurs, family reunification, and refugees and asylum seekers.

*Professionals: Qualified and highly-qualified immigrants*

As discussed above, the category 'professionals' is in the German political framework conceived as a broad target group with diverse specific subfields. In order to address different subgroups in a more differentiated way, the authors have divided the group of professionals along the lines of analytical sub-categories. These immigrant groups are regulated in different Articles in the Residence Act. According to the Article 18 (2) of the Act, qualified immigrants from third countries possess the right to enter and stay in Germany temporally. This means that According to Article 39 of the same Act, the Federal Employment Agency needs to allow the occupational entrance or a particular legal decree according to Article 42. Particularly, under Article 18b the granting of a temporal residence permit for tolerated skilled and high-skilled persons is regulated. As noted above, highly-qualified immigrants' entrance and occupational stay is regulated since 2012 under the Article 19a of the Residence Act, also known as the EU Blue Card. Under the Article 19 of the Residence Act, distinguished academics represented by researchers with particular subject or specialist knowledge and research staff in key positions obtain the right for direct settlement permission. Researchers are those who stay in Germany temporarily with the objective to accomplish an investigation in cooperation with or within a German university or research institute. According to Article 20 of the Residence Act, this immigrant group can obtain residence permission, if there is a hosting agreement for the implementation of a research project with or within a recognised research organization. Article 18 (2), 19, 19a and 20 that regulate the entrance and stay of skilled and high-skilled immigrants can be defined as an employee-driven legal measure, because entrance and residence permit are only allowed in combination with a concrete occupation offer in Germany and a respective employment contract in a German company (Mayer, 2014; Tollenaere, 2014).

On the other hand, intra-company transferees are represented by skilled and high-skilled employees, who work in internationally operating companies and are sent to branch offices abroad, whereby usually the existing labour conditions and work contract from the

sending country is maintained (Tollenaere, 2014). In line with this definition, it is important to mention that foreign professionals, who already live or are employed in Germany and take from there a job for an employer from a sending country, are considered local labour force and not intra-company-transferees (BAMF, 2013).

Intra-company transfers are common practices in international cooperation and according to Tollenaere the reasons for a placement abroad can vary; a specific career policy, a long-term project abroad, or the desire of an individual employee (ibid: 239). The maximum permitted duration of residence amounts up to three years. In most cases, after the end of the posting, transferees return to the previous occupation in the sending country (ibid.). Thus, this professional immigrant group represents typical temporary immigrants. The discussed professional immigrant group is not explicitly considered in the Residence Act, but instead in the legal frame of the German occupation regulation that differentiates this group into different transferee realms. Consequently, we can identify the following sub-categories:

a) According to Article 10 (1) 1 of the German occupation regulation third country high-skilled persons are considered in the frame of international staff exchange. The relevant personnel requires a university or equivalent degree in order to enter and stay in the context of staff exchange.

b) According to Article 10 (1) 2 of the German occupation regulation, third-country professionals are also defined as intra-company transferees, if they arrive with the objective to prepare a business project abroad.

c) According to Article 4 of the occupation regulation also chief executives and specialists are considered as intra-company transferees, if they have company-specific special knowledge crucial for the foreign company or if German-foreign joint venture is established on the base of an interstate agreement.

d) According to Article 19 (2) of the occupation regulation, also long-term posted personnel can be subsumed under intra-company transferees.

International staff exchanges, chief executives and specialists are the most significant groups in the context of intra-company transferees in Germany. Consequently, in this paper only these two groups will be analysed based on empirical evidence. Before starting to illustrate some selected empirical data on skilled and high-skilled professionals in each sub-category and interpret this statistics for the case of Germany, it is useful to note that the role of Asian skilled and high-skilled immigrants have played since several years a significant role and in recent years the relevance has increased in the country. It can be anticipated that the most significant Asian countries of origin regarding distinguished academics are India, the Russian Federation, and Japan, regarding researchers indeed China, India, and Japan. With regard to locally-recruited professionals India, China, Japan and the Ukraine are the most important sending countries in Germany. On the other hand, professionals from India, the

Russian Federation, and China are those, who entered particularly frequently with a Blue Card to the country. Finally, relevant Asian countries of origin with regard to intra-company transferees are represented by India, China, Japan, the Russian Federation and the Philippines, as shown in detail in the following sections.

*Locally recruited professionals*

Previous to the Blue Card implementation in Germany, third country labour immigrants that include also skilled and high-skilled persons received residence permission in the framework of the Article 18, Residence Act established with the New Foreigner Law of 2005. Table 3 illustrates the medium-term development between 2007 and 2012 and shows the total number of residence permissions and the female share for the most important Asian countries of origin. Accordingly, since 2007, Indian professionals represent quantitatively the most important immigrant group, who received residence permission under Article 18. In 2007, the number of this group amounted to 3,226 persons, whereby 474 persons were represented by women, equivalent to 14.7 per cent. While until 2010 total numbers remained constantly under 4,000 people, thereafter the total number rose to over 4,000 people. In 2011, the total number reached a peak with 4,720, equivalent to an increase of 46 per cent in comparison to 2007. The share of women increased in absolute numbers with 619 women in comparison to 2007 (increase of 30 per cent). In relation to the total numbers of 2011, it meant however a decrease of 1.6 per cent in comparison to the base year 2007. In 2012, the total number of Indian professionals, who received residence permission decreased slightly by nine per cent, whereby the share of women increased marginally by 0.8 per cent.

**Table 3:** Quantity of entrances of labour immigrants (Article 18, Residence Act), selected Asian countries of origin, by sex, 2007-2012

| Country of origin | 2007 | | 2008 | | 2009 | | 2010 | | 2011 | | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Women | Total | W. | Total | W. | Total | W. | Total | W. | Total | W. |
| India | 3.226 | 474 | 3.626 | 474 | 2.987 | 398 | 3.404 | 496 | 4.720 | 619 | 4.318 | 602 |
| China | 2.921 | 787 | 2.406 | 821 | 2.204 | 629 | 2.707 | 747 | 3.137 | 930 | 3.052 | 809 |
| Japan | 1.677 | 293 | 1.724 | 322 | 1.258 | 201 | 1.585 | 257 | 1.855 | 370 | 1.715 | 312 |
| Russian Federation | 1. 770 | 1.220 | 1.701 | 1.084 | 1.460 | 1.010 | 1.411 | 947 | 1.553 | 966 | 1.329 | 860 |
| Turkey | 1.339 | 146 | 1.417 | 205 | 1.029 | 157 | 912 | 196 | 1.209 | 196 | 1.473 | 177 |
| Ukraine | 1.538 | 1.078 | 1.330 | 869 | 1.191 | 825 | 1.231 | 897 | 1.346 | 946 | 1.320 | 950 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF, Bundesamt in Zahlen 2013: 79*

China represented the second most significant country of origin regarding the outflow of professionals to Germany. In 2007, the total number of this immigrant group was amount-

ing to 2,921 persons. While between 2008 and 2010 the total numbers decreased in comparison to the base year 2007, in 2011 it reached a peak with 3,137, corresponding to 107 per cent in comparison to 2007. In 2012, this total number declined slightly to 3,052. In relation to Indian immigrants, the share of women in the case of Chinese immigrants is significantly higher; with the exception of 2008, where the total share accounted for 34.1 per cent, the percentage of women oscillated between 26 and 30 per cent, meaning that the share of females is more than twice as high as in the case of Indian immigrants. The case of Turkey reveals that 2007 1.339 persons entered to Germany as labour immigrants. This number declined until 2009 by 23 per cent and began to rise again until 2012 by 10 per cent in comparison to the base year 2007 to 1.473 immigrants. Female labour immigrants accounted in 2007 for 10.9 per cent and increased slightly in 2012 to 12 per cent.

Ukrainian labour immigrants, who obtained residence permit, amounted in 2007 to 1,538 persons, whereby the share of women was with 1,078, equivalent to 70.1 per cent disproportionally high. In the following year, the total numbers dropped below 1,500 and amounted in 2012 to 1,320, signifiying a decrease of 14.2 per cent in comparison to 2007. In contrast, the share of women increased slightly by 1.9 per cent in relation to the base year, to 72 per cent in 2012.

Under the discussed table, all residence permissions regulated under Article 18 of the Residence Act are illustrated. According to the development of the German Foreigner Law of the last years, this means that above all professionals from third countries have received residence permissions under the Article 18. Next to this focus group, also residence permissions for low-skilled immigrants and other labour immigrant groups from Asian sending countries are registered, as shown in the next table.

**Table 4**: Quantity labour immigrants according to qualification (Article 18, Residence Act), selected Asian countries of origin, base year 2012

| Country of origin | Total | No qualified occupation | Qualified occupation | Qualified occupation, pub. interest | Other types of qualification |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| India | 4.318 | 99 | 4.067 | 85 | 67 |
| China | 3.052 | 353 | 2.654 | 39 | 6 |
| Japan | 1.715 | 207 | 1.490 | 13 | 5 |
| Russian Fed. | 1.329 | 714 | 584 | 22 | 9 |
| Turkey | 1.473 | 274 | 1.156 | 32 | 11 |
| Ukraine | 1.320 | 1.035 | 266 | 16 | 3 |
| Korea, Rep. | 526 | 86 | 432 | 8 | 0 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF, Bundesamt in Zahlen, 2013: 80*

Table 4 illustrates that in the case of Indian immigrants 166 persons in 2012, equivalent to 3.9 per cent of the total numbers were represented by less-qualified labourers or by other types of labourers. 94.2 per cent, equivalent to 4,067 persons were represented by skilled and high-skilled immigrants, and 85 persons were professionals, who work in occupational sectors in the public interest. In the case of Chinese labour immigrants 359, equivalent to 11.8 per cent of the total quantity were represented by low-skilled labourers or by distinct types of workers in 2012. Qualified and highly-qualified persons were represented by 2,654 immigrants, corresponding to 87.5 per cent. Only 1.3 per cent, corresponding to 39 persons was engaged in occupations in the public sector. In the cases of Japanese, Korean and Turkish labour immigration, a similar trend is observable in 2012.

The case of Ukrainian labour immigrants reveals indeed another trend; 1,038 persons embodied low-skilled labourers or distinct types of workers in 2012, corresponding to 78.6 per cent. In contrast, only 266 people, equivalent to 20.2 per cent were performing skilled and high-skilled jobs, and 16 persons (1.2 per cent) have worked in the public sector in the base year 2012. Similar to labour immigration from Ukraine, also labour immigration from the Russian Federation is characterised by high numbers of low-skilled or by distinct types of labourers.

In sum, this means that with the exception of labour immigrants from the Russian Federation and Ukraine, the major part of labour immigrants of Asian origin received residence permission in the framework of the Article 18 of the Residence Act due to skilled and high-skilled occupations.

As noted above, in August 2012 the European Blue Card was implemented in the German Residence Act, meaning that after this date the residence permit for high-skilled immigrants was regulated formally under the Article 19a of the respective Act. Accordingly, the permissions granted for professionals in 2012 are reflected statistically until August 2012 under residence permissions that were granted under the Article 18 (see table 4), and since August 2012 under residence permits that were granted under Article 19a, as illustrated in the following table five.

**Table 5**: Quantity of professionals with Blue Card residence permission (Article 19a, Residence Act) in 2012, selected Asian countries of origin

| Country of origin | Total | Regular occupation | Shortage occupation |
|---|---|---|---|
| India | 611 | 426 | 185 |
| China | 108 | 71 | 37 |
| Russian Federation | 143 | 96 | 48 |
| Egypt | 118 | 48 | 70 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF 2014a: 76*

Table 5 shows that after the implementation of the Blue Card in the German Residence Act the most significant migrant group was represented by Indian high-skilled migrants with 611 persons, who received residence permit. Thereby, 426 persons were employed in regular jobs, equivalent to 69.7 per cent, while 185 Indian professionals were employed in the realm of shortage occupations in 2012. In the case of Chinese professionals, 106 persons obtained a Blue Card, 65.7 per cent, corresponding to 71 persons in the realm of regular jobs and 34.3 per cent, equivalent to 37 people in shortage occupational sectors. Around 143 persons from the Russian Federation received a Blue card in 2012, whereby 66.4 per cent (95 persons) in regular jobs and 33.6 per cent (48 people) in shortage professions. The number of Egyptian Blue Card beneficiaries amounted to 118 persons. In contrast to the other cases 40.7 per cent (48 persons) got jobs in regular high-skilled professions and 59.3 per cent (70 persons) in occupations that are representing shortage works. These numbers represent only the quantity of permits from August to December 2012, therefore they are not totally representative for the whole year 2012. Data from 2013 were not available at the moment of the writing of the report. Yet, they are likely to reveal higher numbers of migrants entering Germany, as well as a broader range of relevant sending countries under the Blue Card scheme.

*Intra-company transferees*

As noted above, in the legal framework under intra-company transferees different types of temporal immigrants are conceptualised. In this report only the two most significant subcategories for immigration from Asia are addressed: international staff exchange and chief executives and specialists, as shown and discussed in the following tables.

**Table 6**: Quantity of international staff exchange (Article 10 (1) 1, Occupation Regulation) selected Asian countries, 2006-2012

| Country of origin | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| India | 1.710 | 2.225 | 2.556 | 2.195 | 3.031 | 3.724 | 4.238 |
| China | 591 | 740 | 608 | 472 | 645 | 795 | 753 |
| Russian Federation | 107 | 115 | 147 | 74 | 136 | 162 | 144 |
| Japan | 187 | 188 | 173 | 150 | 127 | 160 | 151 |
| Phillipines | 32 | 62 | 71 | 50 | 108 | 130 | 111 |
| Turkey | 111 | 105 | 166 | 137 | 95 | 116 | 110 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF, 2014a: 65*

Table six shows a medium-term development in the numbers of Asian immigrants, who entered and stayed in Germany in the context of international staff exchange. Consequently, the most significant case represents intra-company transfers from India to Germany;

the total number of Indian transferees amounted in 2006 to 1,710 persons. This number increased in the following years gradually, amounted in 2010 to 3,031 persons, equivalent to an increase of 77 per cent. In 2012, the total number rose to 4,238 persons, corresponding to an increase of 148 per cent. Chinese intra-company transfers represent the second most important group. In 2006, the number of these transfers amounted to 591 persons that rose in one year by 149 people. In the next two years the quantity decreased and amounted in 2009 to only 472 transferees, equivalent to a decline by 20 per cent. In the following years these numbers began to rise again, and in 2012 the total quantity amounted to 753 persons, corresponding to an increase by 27 per cent in comparison to 2006. Intra-company transferees from the Russian Federation amounted in 2006 to 107 temporal immigrants. After increasing slightly, the absolute numbers reached a low point in 2009 with 74, equivalent to 69 per cent of the total numbers of 2006. In the following years, the numbers rose again and in 2012 they reached 144 persons, corresponding to an increase of 35 per cent in comparison to the base year 2006. The quantity of Japanese students amounted in 2006 to 187 transferees, this number decreased gradually after 2007 to 151 in 2012, meaning a decline by 19 per cent. Finally, intra-company transfers from the Philippines amounted in 2006 to 32 persons. This quantity began to rise in the following years, and reached a peak in 2011 with 130 transferees. These numbers decreased in 2012 slightly by 19 persons to 111 individuals, equivalent to a growth by 247 per cent in relation to the base year 2006. Finally, the case of Turkish intra-company transferees show a balanced development, while in 2006 only 111 professionals entered temporally to Germany, in 2012 the entrances decreased only by one to 110 immigrants.

The following table illustrates the medium-term development with regard to the temporal immigration of chief executives and specialists from selected Asian countries of origin to Germany, considered in the following.

**Table 7**: Quantity of chief executives and specialists (Article 4, Occupation Regulation), selected Asian countries of origin, 2006-2012

| Country of origin | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| China | 209 | 336 | 447 | 427 | 594 | 758 | 653 |
| India | 71 | 191 | 473 | 783 | 506 | 413 | 547 |
| Korea, Rep. | 175 | 306 | 353 | 269 | 225 | 248 | 166 |
| Russian Federation | 63 | 66 | 94 | 57 | 67 | 85 | 56 |
| Turkey | 58 | 74 | 113 | 59 | 67 | 81 | 70 |
| Japan | 71 | 85 | 79 | 77 | 104 | 89 | 48 |
| Malaysia | 8 | 14 | 18 | 37 | 14 | 28 | 48 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF, 2014a: 64*

Accordingly, the table shows that chief executives and specialists from China represent the most significant group in this context. In 2006, the number of this group amounted to 209 persons and increased in the following years. In 2011, this development reached a peak with 758, equivalent to an increase of 263 per cent. The numbers decreased slightly in 2012 by 105 persons to a total of 653 transferees, meaning a decrease of 14 per cent in comparison to the previous year. The number of Indian executives and specialists amounted in 2006 to 71 persons. This quantity rose significantly until 2009, reaching an amount of 783 in 2009, corresponding to an increase of 1.003 per cent. This quantity began to decrease again, to level off at 547 persons in 2012. The number of Korean intra-company transferees amounted in 2006 to 175 persons and rose in the following years. This development reached a peak in 2008 with 353, equivalent to an increase by 102 per cent. In the following years the numbers began to decrease again and amounted in 2012 to 166, meaning a reduction by 5 per cent in comparison to the base year 2006. Turkish chief executives and specialists were represented in Germany in 2006 by 58 persons. After various up and down motions in 2012 the number amounted for 70 intra-company-transferees, equivalent to an increase of around 21 per cent. Finally, in 2006 only eight Malaysian chief executives and specialists obtained a residence permit in Germany, after a changing development the numbers leveled off in 2012 by 48 high-skilled temporal Malaysian immigrants, an increase by 500 per cent in comparison to the base year 2006.

*Researchers*

The following table 8 illustrates a four year trend with regard to residence permissions granted for reseachers from most important Asian countries of origin, addressed in detail below.

**Table 8**: Quantity of residence permission for foreign researchers (Article 20, Residence Act), selected Asian countries of origin, 2008-2012

| Country of origin | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Total | Women |
| China | 11 | 17 | 28 | 53 | 67 | 13 |
| India | 7 | 12 | 24 | 45 | 43 | 13 |
| Russian Federation | 7 | 10 | 12 | 21 | 22 | 5 |
| Japan | 3 | 14 | 11 | 17 | 16 | 1 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data from Mayer, 2013: 23*

Table eight shows that Chinese researchers, who received a residence permission according to Article 20 of the Residence Act constitute the most important group. Accordingly, in 2008 the number of residence permissions amounted to eleven persons. In the following years, this number rose gradually, reaching a peak in 2012 with 67 persons, equivalent to an increase of 509 per cent. The share of women in the same year was relatively low, ac-

counting for only 19 per cent. In the case of Indian researchers, there is also an observable gradual growth in numbers. While in 2008 the total number amounted to seven persons, in 2012 there was an increase of 514 per cent, equivalent to 67 persons. As opposed to other Indian immigrant categories, the share of women is relatively high with 13 women, corresponding to 20 per cent. The quantity of Russian researchers, who obtained a respective permission for stays, amounted in 2008 to seven persons. Also here an ongoing rise is visible, accounting after four years to an increase of 340 per cent, equivalent to 22 persons. The share of female researchers is accounting for 23 per cent. Finally, in the case of Japan there is also a slow increase notable. While in 2008 the number amounted to three persons, the quantity grew to 26 persons, representing an increase of 767 per cent. In contrast to other immigrant categories, female Japanese researchers are very slightly represented with only one woman in 2012.

It could be demonstrated that in all significant cases of researchers from Asian sending countries the absolute numbers increased over the last four years. Nevertheless, it remains clear that within this table not all existing foreign researchers in Germany are illustrated. Rather the shown numbers refer only to those researchers, who received an explicit residence permit for the objective of accomplishing research in Germany. However, it is worth noting that these numbers neither include third country post-graduates, who stay after studies in Germany, nor researchers, who received a residence permit due to family unification. Moreover, academics with exceptional proficiencies are also not considered, as demonstrated in the following table 9.

*Distinguished Academics*

The final table 9 illustrates the quantities of those particular academics, who received immediate settlement permission due to exceptional faculties and its future contribution for the German society, as addressed in detail in the following text.

**Table 9**: Quantity of academics obtained a settlement permit (Article 19, Residence Act), selected Asian countries of origin, 2005-2012

| Country of origin | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Total | Women |
| India | 3 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 21 | 17 | 38 | 25 | 3 |
| Russian Federation | 6 | 1 | 7 | 13 | 6 | 15 | 50 | 23 | 4 |
| Japan | 7 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 19 | 17 | 0 |
| Turkey | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 7 | 0 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF (2014a: 75)*

Table nine shows the three most important Asian countries of origin of distinguished academics, who received a settlement permit according to Article 19 of the German Residence Act between 2005 and 2012. Consequently, Indian academics, who obtained settlement permission amounted in 2005 to only three persons. This number rose in the course of the next seven years to a high of 38 persons, equivalent to an increase of over 1,150 per cent. In 2012, this number decreased to 25, which signifies a decline of 34 per cent. The share of women is amounting in the same year to three female academics, corresponding to 12 per cent. Indian academics are followed by those of the Russian Federation. Also here a gradual increase is notable. While in 2005 the total quantity was amounting to six persons, who received settlement permit, the inflow of members of this immigrant group reached a peak in 2011 with 50 persons. In 2012, the number decreased by more than the half to 23 per cent, equivalent to a decline of 54 per cent. The share of women is relatively low with only 15 per cent in 2012. Japanese academics, who obtained a settlement permit were represented in 2005 by seven immigrants. Similar to the other cases the quantity grew over the next seven years to a high point of 19 in 2011, and decreased again by two persons in 2012. Female academics are not represented in the same year. In sum, it can be argued that in all three cases an increase is observable until the year 2011, thereafter the numbers began to decrease again. Finally, the amount of entrances and stays of Turkish distinguished academics was between 2005 and 2007 amounting constantly three persons. This number rose gradually to 12 persons between 2010 and 2011 and began to decrease again thereafter.

*International students in Germany*

As an operational definition students are conceived here as those persons, who are engaged in a professional education with the aim to obtain a certification or rather a degree. In this vein, this definition involves university students, participants of language schools, school students (Article 16 of the Residence Act) and vocational training students (Article 17 of the Residence Act). Additionally, we also will address in this category Au-Pair students (Article 12 of the Employment Regulation). Although, the main attention will obtain the category of university students and within this category, those, who obtained the university entrance qualification abroad (*Bildungsausländer*), also other relevant types will be considered in order to gain a complete picture of this category.

University students are those, who are matriculated in an educational institution of tertiary education and who are according to the UNESCO classification "International Standard Classification of Education" (ISCED) studying a Bachelor or Master degree or an advanced research programme (Mayer, Yamamura, Schneider, & Müller, 2012). Foreign university students can be differentiated in two sub-categories:

a) *Bildungsausländer* are those foreign people, who obtained the university entrance qualification abroad, and after the recognition of the entrance qualification they start to study in a German university (Isserstedt & Kandulla, 2010). Although the differentiation gives neither information about the nationality nor about the residence title, it is however assumable that the majority of this group are university students from foreign countries, who arrived to Germany with the particular objective of university study.

b) *Bildungsinländer* are foreign persons, who achieved the university entrance certificate in Germany or in a German school in a foreign country. Accordingly, the majority of this group are persons, who were born in Germany or who have lived for a long period in the country (Mayer, Yamamura, Schneider, & Müller, 2012). This means that it is reasonable to assume that the major parts of this group are immigrants of the second or third generation, meaning family members of previously immigrated persons.

Language school participants are people, who come to Germany with the aim to study the German language and to obtain a language certification. According to Article 16 (5) of the Residence Act, a temporal residence permit for participating in a language course can be granted. An occupation is not permitted.

Vocational training students are foreigners, who arrive to the country to accomplish a professional training (*Berufsausbildung*). According to Article 17 of the Residence Act, foreigners from third countries, including from Asian countries, can receive a residence permit for the purpose of occupational education and training. The grant depends on the approval of the Federal Employment Agency, as far as the education or training is not covered by the Employment Regulation, or covered by intergovernmental agreements.

Finally, Au-Pair Students are young persons who stay for a limited time in a foreign country with the objective to live with a host family. The Au-Pair student supports the family temporarily with childcare and housework. In return the student receives free accommodation, meals, and a small allowance. The main aim is a common cultural exchange. In addition, the Au-Pair students should deepen the language knowledge by participating in a language school and by practising the language in the family (AuPairWorld, 2014). According to Article 12 of the Employment Regulation, Au-Pair students require basic knowledge of the German language, need to be younger than 27 years of age, and the mother tongue of the host family needs to be German. Finally, the residence permission can be granted for up to one year.

According to the *Federal Statistical Office* (*Statistisches Bundesamt*), the total number of all foreign students from Asia amounted in the winter semester 2012/2013 to 84,097

(2013: 377) people, whereby 44 per cent were represented by women. The number of the same group of students, who started in the winter semester 2012/2013 accounted for 10,649 (ibid.). Almost 13 per cent of the total number of Asian students has enrolled only in the winter semester 2012/13. This indicates that the involvement of foreign Asian students in German Universities represents an increasingly significant trend that is assumedly related to the foreign student-friendly reforms in the German immigration policies of the last years. On the other hand the share of women reaches 46 per cent in the winter semester, showing that the proportion of men and women remained constant in relation to the total numbers in the referred semester.

**Table 10**: Quantity of university students from selected countries of origin in Germany, winter semester 2012/13, by sex

| Country of origin | Total number | | | First semester | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| China | 27,364 | 13,614 | 13,750 | 6,259 | 2,847 | 3,412 |
| Georgia | 2,245 | 626 | 1,619 | 320 | 113 | 207 |
| India | 7,532 | 5,792 | 1,740 | 2,535 | 1,991 | 544 |
| Indonesia | 3,046 | 1,732 | 1,314 | 952 | 545 | 407 |
| Japan | 2,213 | 752 | 1,461 | 707 | 244 | 463 |
| Pakistan | 2,523 | 2,169 | 354 | 667 | 571 | 96 |
| Korea, Rep. | 5,287 | 2,014 | 3,273 | 1,133 | 386 | 747 |
| Syria | 2,575 | 2,053 | 522 | 329 | 264 | 65 |
| Turkey | 30,645 | 16,427 | 14,218 | 6,480 | 3,133 | 3,347 |
| Ukraine | 9,044 | 2,789 | 6,255 | 1,591 | 501 | 1,090 |
| Vietnam | 5,155 | 2,752 | 2,403 | 1,133 | 575 | 558 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by the Federal Statistical Office (2013b: 377f)*

Table ten shows the total share of foreign university students of selected countries. The ten most significant countries of origin are represented by Turkey with a very high share of 27 per cent, China with a high share of 24 per cent (27,364), India with 7 per cent (7,532), Republic of Korea with 5 per cent (5,287), Vietnam with 4 per cent (5,155), Indonesia with 3 per cent (3,046), Syria with 2 per cent (2,575), Pakistan with 2 per cent (2,523), Georgia with 2 per cent (2,245) and Japan with a proportion of 2 per cent (2,213) of all students from Asia. Also Ukrainian students play an important role in this context; with 9,044 international students in the winter semester 2012/13 this group represents quantitatively one of biggest sending countries to Germany. While the share of women and men of the total number of Chinese university students is almost balanced, males are dominant among university stu-

dents from Syria with 80 per cent, from India with 77 per cent and from Indonesia with 57 per cent. On the other hand, females are highly represented among university students from Georgia with 72 per cent, from Ukraine with 69 per cent, from Japan with 66 per cent, and from the Republic of Korea with 62 per cent. These varying gender-related shares can be linked to cultural and religious aspects in the respective countries of origin, which needs to be analysed in detail, in order to understand the existing differences.

As noted above, not all foreign university students are representing immigrants, who are arriving to Germany exclusively with the aim to carry out studies. In some cases foreign students are embodied by family members of previously entered labour immigrants. In order to analyse qualitatively recent transformation processes that stay in relation to current patterns of immigration, it seems important to detect university student inflows to Germany. Therefore, it is useful to consider also the share of immigrants, who entered in the last years to the countries explicitly to accomplish a university degree.

The share of foreign people, who obtained the university entrance qualification abroad

(*Bildungsausländer*) amounted in 2012 to 86 per cent (72,483 persons) of the total quantity, showing that the majority of Asian university students were neither born in Germany, nor had remained over a long period in the country. The share of university students, who started to study in Germany in the winter semester 2012/2013 amounted to 24 per cent, showing that the percentage of university beginners among the group of *Bildungsausländer* is 11 per cent higher than in the framework of the university beginners that include all kinds of Asian university beginners. The balanced share of men and women is also reflected in this context: around 44 per cent of all *Bildungsausländer* are represented by women, as well as 45 per cent of the university beginners. This empirical information indicates that the majority of Asian descended university students have arrived to Germany with the purpose to accomplish a university degree, and that most of them are not immigrants of the second or third generation. Furthermore, the numbers indicate that this influx is increasing recently, because the share of the university beginners is relatively high with 24 per cent (Federal Statistical Office, 2013: 397). The following table shows the country-specific distribution of *Bildungsausländer* from ten selected Asian countries.

**Table 11**: Quantity of Bildungsausländer students from selected Asian countries of origin, winter semester 2012/13 by sex

| Country of origin | Total number | | | First semester | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Men | Women | Total | Men | Women |
| China | 25,564 | 12,721 | 12,843 | 6,001 | 2,723 | 3,278 |
| Georgia | 2,116 | 575 | 1,541 | 301 | 108 | 193 |
| India | 7,255 | 5,618 | 1,637 | 2.484 | 1.961 | 523 |
| Indonesia | 2,875 | 1,642 | 1,233 | 926 | 534 | 392 |
| Japan | 1,908 | 639 | 1,269 | 655 | 224 | 431 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pakistan | 2,228 | 1,983 | 245 | 601 | 530 | 71 |
| Korea, Rep. | 4,279 | 1,574 | 2,705 | 996 | 327 | 669 |
| Syria | 2,345 | 1,919 | 426 | 285 | 236 | 49 |
| Turkey | 6,666 | 4,024 | 2,642 | 1,819 | 891 | 928 |
| Ukraine | 6,264 | 1,456 | 4,808 | 1,119 | 285 | 834 |
| Vietnam | 2,717 | 1,485 | 1,232 | 469 | 248 | 221 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by the Federal Statistical Office (2013b: 397f)*

Table 11 shows that China with 32 per cent, India with 9 per cent, Turkey with 8 per cent, Ukraine with and the Republic of Korea with 5 per cent are the most significant countries of origin in comparison to all Asian *Bildungsausländer* in Germany, whereby Chinese university students are significantly more represented than any other student group. There are country-specific differences with regard to gender-related shares. The share of men (49.7 per cent) and women (50.3 per cent) is very balanced in the case of university students from China. In contrast, female students from Pakistan with 11 per cent, from Syria with 18 per cent and from India with 22 per cent are highly underrepresented in the total numbers of *Bildungsausländer*. On the other hand, females from Ukraine with 77%, from Georgia with 73 per cent, from Japan with 67 per cent and from South Korea with 63 per cent are highly represented in Germany. Similarly, these unbalances are reflected in the women and men share of university beginners. As noted above, the reasons for this imbalance are in many cases related to cultural, religious, as well as political factors in the sending countries, which require an in-depth analysis. It is notable that inflows from China are very balanced regarding the gender distribution that influence essentially the whole men/women dispersion due to the fact that China represents the most significant source country of *Bildungsausländer*.

After illustrating the numbers of foreign university students and those of the *Bildungsausländer* and discussing relevant aspects, we will turn to the fields of study, in which the Asian Bildungsausländer obtained their university degrees in 2012 as illustrated in table 12. This is particularly interesting in order to understand, what the motivation for *Bildungsausländer* is to stay and study particularly in Germany.

**Table 12**: Quantity of foreign graduates (*Bildungsausländer*) from selected Asian countries of origin in 2012, by academic disciplines

| Country of origin | Total foreign graduates | Bildungsausländer | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Linguistic and Cultural science | Law, Social science, Economics | Maths, Natural science | Engineering | Human medicine | Art, Art studies | Others |
| China | 4,919 | 4,640 | 399 | 1,117 | 788 | 1,954 | 93 | 202 | 87 |
| India | 1,069 | 1,039 | 22 | 167 | 347 | 440 | 23 | 5 | 35 |
| Indonesia | 552 | 530 | 27 | 196 | 82 | 148 | 25 | 11 | 41 |
| Japan | 326 | 257 | 42 | 21 | 14 | 13 | 8 | 154 | 5 |
| Pakistan | 342 | 325 | 10 | 23 | 116 | 136 | 10 | 1 | 28 |
| Russian Federation | 2,218 | 1,745 | 453 | 705 | 219 | 182 | 57 | 99 | 30 |
| Korea, Rep. | 930 | 764 | 63 | 51 | 33 | 63 | 24 | 516 | 14 |
| Turkey | 2,980 | 943 | 108 | 236 | 203 | 286 | 41 | 39 | 30 |
| Ukraine | 1,524 | 1,127 | 285 | 460 | 160 | 103 | 43 | 49 | 27 |
| Vietnam | 669 | 471 | 16 | 165 | 106 | 157 | 8 | 3 | 16 |
| Belarus, Rep. | 339 | 300 | 96 | 120 | 33 | 16 | 17 | 13 | 5 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF (2014a: 87)*

Table 12 shows the total number of foreign graduates, who received their university entrance qualification abroad, those we have termed here as *Bildungsausländer*, divided according to the academic discipline in that they conclude their university studies. Consequently, it is shown that Chinese, Turkish, Indian, Indonesian, Vietnamese, Ukrainian and Pakistani, White Russian, and *Bildungsausländer* from the Russian Federation graduated predominately in one of the following academic disciplines a) law, economics or social science, b) mathematics and natural science, or in c) engineering: Chinese university students hold the major share of *Bildungsausländer* with 4,640 people, who graduated in 2012. About 42 per cent of all Chinese *Bildungsausländer* graduated in engineering and 24 per cent obtained a degree in law, social science or economics. Meanwhile, 17 per cent of the students received a degree in mathematics or natural science. A similar trend is observable in the case of Indian and Turkish university students, 42 per cent of the 1,035 Indian *Bildungsausländer* graduated in engineering (30 per cent of Turkish students), and 33 per cent in mathematics or natural sciences (22 per cent of Turkish students). *Bildungsausländer* from Indonesia graduated with 28 per cent mainly in engineering and 37 per cent in law, social science or economics. Foreign university students from Vietnam predominately graduated in law, economics, or social science with a share of 35 per cent, and engineering with 33 per cent. Ukrainian *Bildungsausländer* put the mass centre of studies to law, economics or social science with 41 per cent. Pakistani foreign students graduated in 2012 mainly in engineering with 42 per cent, followed by mathematics or natural sciences with 36 per cent. Foreign students from Belarus graduated mostly in law, economics, or social sciences. Finally, also

*Bildungsausländer* from the Russian Federation graduated predominantly in law, economics, or social sciences with a total share of 40 per cent.

The main area of studies was differing in the case of *Bildungsausländer* from Japan. Here the majority (60 per cent) graduated in arts or art studies. Similar to Japan, also Korean *Bildungsausländer* graduated with 68 per cent principally in arts or art studies.

While the previous tables have offered a general overview of Asian university students in Germany, and have revealed the main academic disciplines in which foreign student groups have graduated, the quantitative development of immigration for the purpose of university studies of the last years was not addressed, which is accomplished in the following tables 13 and 14.

**Table 13**: Quantity of Bildungsausländer students from seven countries of origin, development in medium-term, 1999-2011

| China | | | India | | | Korea, Rep. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Number | 1999=100 | Year | Number | 1999=100 | Year | Number | 1999=100 |
| 1999 | 5.054 | 100,0 | 1999 | 622 | 100,0 | 1999 | 3.764 | 100,0 |
| 2000 | 6.179 | 122,3 | 2000 | 853 | 137,1 | 2000 | 3.661 | 97,3 |
| 2001 | 8.745 | 173,0 | 2001 | 1.120 | 180,1 | 2001 | 3.605 | 95,8 |
| 2002 | 13.523 | 267,6 | 2002 | 1.745 | 280,5 | 2002 | 3.729 | 99,1 |
| 2003 | 19.374 | 383,3 | 2003 | 2.920 | 469,5 | 2003 | 3.899 | 103,6 |
| 2004 | 24.095 | 476,8 | 2004 | 3.697 | 594,4 | 2004 | 3.775 | 100,3 |
| 2005 | 25.987 | 514,2 | 2005 | 3.807 | 612,1 | 2005 | 3.830 | 101,8 |
| 2006 | 26.061 | 515,7 | 2006 | 3.583 | 576,0 | 2006 | 3.875 | 102,9 |
| 2007 | 25.651 | 507,5 | 2007 | 3.431 | 551,6 | 2007 | 4.030 | 107,1 |
| 2008 | 23.983 | 474,5 | 2008 | 3.217 | 517,2 | 2008 | 3.963 | 105,3 |
| 2009 | 23.140 | 457,9 | 2009 | 3.236 | 520,3 | 2009 | 4.136 | 109,9 |
| 2010 | 22.779 | 450,7 | 2010 | 3.821 | 614,3 | 2010 | 4.193 | 111,4 |
| 2011 | 22.828 | 451,7 | 2011 | 4.825 | 775,7 | 2011 | 4.224 | 112,2 |

| Russian Federation | | | Turkey | | | Ukraine | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Number | 1999=100 | Year | Number | 1999=100 | Year | Number | 1999=100 |
| 1999 | 4.280 | 100,0 | 1999 | 6.306 | 100,0 | 1999 | 1.841 | 100,0 |
| 2000 | 5.045 | 117,9 | 2000 | 4.774 | 75,7 | 2000 | 2.386 | 129,6 |
| 2001 | 5.955 | 139,1 | 2001 | 5.104 | 80,9 | 2001 | 3.067 | 166,6 |
| 2002 | 7.098 | 165,8 | 2002 | 5.188 | 82,3 | 2002 | 4.049 | 219,9 |
| 2003 | 8.113 | 189,6 | 2003 | 5.728 | 90,8 | 2003 | 4.975 | 270,2 |
| 2004 | 8.906 | 208,1 | 2004 | 6.474 | 102,7 | 2004 | 5.825 | 316,4 |
| 2005 | 9.594 | 224,2 | 2005 | 6.587 | 104,5 | 2005 | 6.532 | 354,8 |
| 2006 | 9.826 | 229,6 | 2006 | 7.077 | 112,2 | 2006 | 6.928 | 376,3 |
| 2007 | 9.951 | 232,5 | 2007 | 7.180 | 113,9 | 2007 | 6.950 | 377,5 |
| 2008 | 9.502 | 222,0 | 2008 | 6.911 | 109,6 | 2008 | 6.404 | 347,9 |
| 2009 | 9.740 | 227,6 | 2009 | 6.711 | 106,4 | 2009 | 6.324 | 343,5 |
| 2010 | 9.764 | 228,1 | 2010 | 6.635 | 105,2 | 2010 | 6.326 | 343,6 |
| 2011 | 10.077 | 235,4 | 2011 | 6.575 | 104,3 | 2011 | 6.204 | 337,0 |

| Vietnam | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year | Number | 1999=100 |
| 1999 | 542 | 100,0 |
| 2000 | 511 | 94,3 |
| 2001 | 582 | 107,4 |
| 2002 | 662 | 122,1 |
| 2003 | 850 | 156,8 |
| 2004 | 1.199 | 221,2 |
| 2005 | 1.668 | 307,7 |
| 2006 | 2.148 | 396,3 |
| 2007 | 2.366 | 436,5 |
| 2008 | 2.507 | 462,5 |
| 2009 | 2.515 | 464,0 |
| 2010 | 2.576 | 475,3 |
| 2011 | 2.602 | 480,1 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by DAAD/HIS, 2013*

Table 13 shows the seven most important countries of origin of international students (*Bildungsausländer*), including an overview of the quantitative development over the last 13 years. Accordingly, the quantity of Chinese *Bildungsausländer* has increased from 5,054 students in 1999 to 22,828 students in 2011, corresponding to an increase of 352 per cent. Over the last 13 years, China represented by far the sending country with the highest absolute numbers of *Bildungsausländer* students, who enter Germany. In line with this fact, the most significant peak in the immigration of *Bildungsausländer* was reached between 2005 and 2006, where a growth of over 400 per cent was achieved. Turkish *Bildungsausländer* represents the second strongest group; while in 1999 around 6,306 students entered to Germany. However, after 13 year the increase was slightly, it amounted to 6,575 persons, corresponding to an increase of only four per cent.

Similar to the Chinese case the entrance of Indian *Bildungsausländer* has risen significantly over the last years. While in 1999 the total number of this particular group was amounting to 622, in 2011 this quantity rose by 676 per cent, equivalent to 4,825 students. Educational immigration to Germany has increased importantly after 2003. In comparison to 2001, in 2003 the influx climbed by nearly 300 per cent.

In the case of Ukrainian *Bildungsausländer* the total number of immigrants corresponding to this group was accounting to 1,804 people. Over 13 years this number grew by 237 per cent that is equivalent to 6,204 *Bildungsausländer* in Germany. A significant peak was reached between 2005 and 2007, where the percentage increased to over 350 per cent. Finally, also an important growth is observable in the case of Vietnam. In 1999, only 542 Vietnamese students entered Germany, this number rose by 380 per cent in 2011 with a total quantity of 2,602 *Bildungsausländer* students. In the case of the Republic of Korea, the in-

crease of *Bildungsausländer* between 1999 and 2011 amounted only to 460 students, equivalent to a growth of 12 per cent.

The presented numbers provide an overview of the general development regarding the entrance of Asians and other relevant nationalities to Germany with the objective to carry out a university study. This overview shows that the quantity of influxes of international students from relevant countries has increased over the last 13 years nearly in all cases strongly. However, these numbers do not give any information about the performance of these students, meaning if these students could conclude their university studies successfully. This, in turn could provide further information about qualitative aspects of this immigration group, as addressed in the following table 14.

**Table 14**: Quantity of foreign graduates (Bildungsausländer), selected countries of origin, medium-term development 2000-2011

| China | | | India | | | Indonesia | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 | Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 | Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 |
| 2000 | 511 | 100,0 | 2000 | 59 | 100,0 | 2000 | 140 | 100,0 |
| 2001 | 608 | 119,0 | 2001 | 91 | 154,2 | 2001 | 226 | 161,4 |
| 2002 | 823 | 161,1 | 2002 | 164 | 278,0 | 2002 | 229 | 163,6 |
| 2003 | 1.046 | 204,7 | 2003 | 234 | 396,6 | 2003 | 281 | 200,7 |
| 2004 | 1.443 | 282,4 | 2004 | 445 | 754,2 | 2004 | 288 | 205,7 |
| 2005 | 2.227 | 435,8 | 2005 | 767 | 1.300,0 | 2005 | 359 | 256,4 |
| 2006 | 2.919 | 571,2 | 2006 | 814 | 1.379,7 | 2006 | 351 | 250,7 |
| 2007 | 3.815 | 746,6 | 2007 | 814 | 1.379,7 | 2007 | 362 | 258,6 |
| 2008 | 4.388 | 858,7 | 2008 | 709 | 1.201,7 | 2008 | 498 | 355,7 |
| 2009 | 4.489 | 878,5 | 2009 | 728 | 1.233,9 | 2009 | 461 | 329,3 |
| 2010 | 4.437 | 868,3 | 2010 | 756 | 1.281,4 | 2010 | 462 | 330,0 |
| 2011 | 4.563 | 893,0 | 2011 | 909 | 1.540,7 | 2011 | 576 | 411,4 |

| Korea, Rep. | | | Russian Federation | | | Turkey | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 | Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 | Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 |
| 2000 | 410 | 100,0 | 2000 | 338 | 100,0 | 2000 | 419 | 100,0 |
| 2001 | 425 | 103,7 | 2001 | 418 | 123,7 | 2001 | 405 | 96,7 |
| 2002 | 399 | 97,3 | 2002 | 470 | 139,1 | 2002 | 460 | 109,8 |
| 2003 | 467 | 113,9 | 2003 | 575 | 170,1 | 2003 | 452 | 107,9 |
| 2004 | 508 | 123,9 | 2004 | 717 | 212,1 | 2004 | 542 | 129,4 |
| 2005 | 553 | 134,9 | 2005 | 938 | 277,5 | 2005 | 728 | 173,7 |
| 2006 | 526 | 128,3 | 2006 | 1.116 | 330,2 | 2006 | 756 | 180,4 |
| 2007 | 664 | 162,0 | 2007 | 1.204 | 356,2 | 2007 | 874 | 208,6 |
| 2008 | 665 | 162,2 | 2008 | 1.308 | 387,0 | 2008 | 856 | 204,3 |
| 2009 | 727 | 177,3 | 2009 | 1.444 | 427,2 | 2009 | 920 | 219,6 |
| 2010 | 762 | 185,9 | 2010 | 1.533 | 453,6 | 2010 | 866 | 206,7 |
| 2011 | 755 | 184,1 | 2011 | 1.661 | 491,4 | 2011 | 972 | 232,0 |

| Ukraine | | | Vietnam | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 | Graduation year | Number | 2000=100 |
| 2000 | 119 | 100,0 | 2000 | 73 | 100,0 |
| 2001 | 190 | 159,7 | 2001 | 61 | 83,6 |
| 2002 | 242 | 203,4 | 2002 | 92 | 126,0 |
| 2003 | 291 | 244,5 | 2003 | 98 | 134,2 |
| 2004 | 374 | 314,3 | 2004 | 94 | 128,8 |
| 2005 | 474 | 398,3 | 2005 | 106 | 145,2 |
| 2006 | 578 | 485,7 | 2006 | 163 | 223,3 |
| 2007 | 757 | 636,1 | 2007 | 207 | 283,6 |
| 2008 | 890 | 747,9 | 2008 | 228 | 312,3 |
| 2009 | 983 | 826,1 | 2009 | 332 | 454,8 |
| 2010 | 1.039 | 873,1 | 2010 | 319 | 437,0 |
| 2011 | 1.038 | 872,3 | 2011 | 421 | 576,7 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by DAAD/HIS, 2013)*

Table 14 shows the eight most important Asian and related countries of origin of graduated *Bildungsausländer* students, including an overview of the total numbers of university graduates over 12 years. Accordingly, the table shows that in all eight cases the number of graduates has increased over the last 12 years. While in 2000 only 59 Indian *Bildungsausländer* finished successfully their studies, after 12 years an increase of 1.441 per cent could be achieved, meaning that in 2011, 909 Indian students could conclude their university studies. Although Chinese student graduations rose only by 793 per cent, the total number of graduates in 2011 was with 4,563 four times higher than in the case of India, whereby significant increases in graduates could be accomplished above all between 2005 and 2011. Therewith is China by far the most important Asian supplier of successful international students since 2000. Also the number of Ukrainian *Bildungsausländer*, who finished their studies successfully, has ascended in the last years. While in 2000 only 119 students graduated, this number climbed by 772 per cent to 1,038 university graduates in 2011. A considerable increase in graduates is also observable in the case of countries within the Russian Federation. This immigrant group achieved an increment of 391 per cent after a period of 12 years. Finally, also Vietnamese students' graduation rose importantly; while in 2000 only 73 students graduated, after 12 years this number rose to 421, representing an increase of 477 per cent.

**Table 15:** Most important selected countries of origin of *Bildungsausländer* students in 2012, per federal state, (quantity and percentage)

| Baden-Wuerttemberg | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 3,429 | 12.5 |
| Russian Federation | 1,238 | 4.5 |
| Turkey | 1,010 | 3.7 |
| India | 875 | 3.2 |
| Ukraine | 735 | 2.7 |
| Korea, Rep. | 682 | 2.5 |

| Bavaria | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 2,416 | 11.0 |
| Russian Federation | 1,232 | 5.6 |
| Ukraine | 919 | 4.2 |
| Turkey | 664 | 3.0 |
| India | 624 | 2.8 |
| Korea, Rep. | 468 | 2.1 |

| Berlin | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 1,541 | 7.6 |
| Russian Federation | 1,088 | 5.4 |
| Turkey | 676 | 3.3 |
| Korea, Rep. | 512 | 2.5 |
| Ukraine | 497 | 2.4 |
| India | 358 | 1.8 |
| Indonesia | 338 | 1.7 |
| Vietnam | 290 | 1.4 |

| Brandenburg | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| Russian Federation | 524 | 10.6 |
| China | 318 | 6.4 |
| Ukraine | 199 | 4.0 |
| Turkey | 116 | 2.3 |
| India | 100 | 2.0 |
| Indonesia | 91 | 1.8 |
| Georgia | 79 | 1.6 |
| Vietnam | 62 | 1.3 |
| Belarus | 54 | 1.1 |

| Bremen | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 350 | 9.5 |
| India | 167 | 4.6 |
| Russian Federation | 166 | 4.5 |
| Turkey | 129 | 3.5 |
| Pakistan | 119 | 3.2 |
| Ukraine | 106 | 2.9 |
| Indonesia | 71 | 1.9 |
| Korea, Rep. | 68 | 1.9 |
| Nepal | 64 | 1.7 |
| Georgia | 54 | 1.5 |
| Vietnam | 48 | 1.3 |

| Hamburg | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 669 | 10.4 |
| Russian Federation | 420 | 6.6 |
| Ukraine | 302 | 4.7 |
| Turkey | 249 | 3.9 |
| India | 177 | 2.8 |
| Korea, Rep. | 131 | 2.0 |
| Vietnam | 114 | 1.8 |
| Indonesia | 91 | 1.4 |

| Hesse | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 1,712 | 9.7 |
| Russian Federation | 886 | 5.0 |
| Ukraine | 745 | 4.2 |
| Turkey | 692 | 3.9 |
| India | 572 | 3.3 |
| Korea, Rep. | 301 | 1.7 |
| Vietnam | 266 | 1.5 |
| Pakistan | 251 | 1.4 |

| Lower Saxony | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 2,214 | 19.0 |
| Russian Federation | 612 | 5.3 |
| Turkey | 478 | 4.1 |
| India | 327 | 2.8 |
| Ukraine | 307 | 2.6 |
| Vietnam | 269 | 2.3 |
| Korea, Rep. | 262 | 2.3 |
| Indonesia | 249 | 2.1 |
| Syria | 212 | 1.8 |

| Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 208 | 10.7 |
| Russian Federation | 138 | 7.1 |
| India | 100 | 5.1 |
| Syria | 84 | 4.3 |
| Ukraine | 58 | 3.0 |
| Vietnam | 46 | 2.4 |
| Korea, Rep. | 40 | 2.1 |
| Turkey | 36 | 1.8 |
| Armenia | 33 | 1.7 |
| Japan | 31 | 1.6 |
| Pakistan | 28 | 1.4 |

| North Rhine-Westphalia | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 5,803 | 13.2 |
| Russian Federation | 2,242 | 5.1 |
| Turkey | 1,912 | 4.4 |
| India | 1,413 | 3.2 |
| Ukraine | 1,165 | 2.7 |
| Korea, Rep. | 1,067 | 2.4 |
| Indonesia | 661 | 1.5 |

| Rhineland-Palatinate | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 716 | 8.6 |
| Russian Federation | 471 | 5.7 |
| Ukraine | 403 | 4.8 |
| Turkey | 206 | 2.5 |
| India | 178 | 2.1 |
| Korea, Rep. | 135 | 1.6 |
| Belarus | 105 | 1.3 |
| Syria | 95 | 1.1 |

| Saarland | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 220 | 6.9 |
| Russian Federation | 108 | 3.4 |
| India | 99 | 3.1 |
| Korea, Rep. | 86 | 2.7 |
| Turkey | 66 | 2.1 |
| Ukraine | 66 | 2.1 |
| Syria | 49 | 1.5 |
| Georgia | 42 | 1.3 |
| Indonesia | 42 | 1.3 |

| Saxony | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 1,581 | 15.3 |
| Russian Federation | 556 | 5.4 |
| Vietnam | 319 | 3.1 |
| India | 312 | 3.0 |
| Ukraine | 305 | 2.9 |
| Korea, Rep. | 221 | 2.1 |
| Syria | 151 | 1.5 |
| Turkey | 128 | 1.2 |
| | | |
| | | |

| Saxony-Anhalt | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 1,667 | 36.3 |
| Russian Federation | 263 | 5.7 |
| Ukraine | 194 | 4.2 |
| India | 187 | 4.1 |
| Vietnam | 134 | 2.9 |
| Syria | 106 | 2.3 |
| Korea, Rep. | 69 | 1.5 |
| Pakistan | 67 | 1.5 |
| Turkey | 57 | 1.2 |
| Indonesia | 46 | 1.0 |

| Schleswig-Holstein | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 311 | 10.4 |
| Russian Federation | 192 | 6.4 |
| India | 115 | 3.9 |
| Turkey | 102 | 3.4 |
| Ukraine | 92 | 3.1 |
| Syria | 83 | 2.8 |
| Vietnam | 58 | 1.9 |
| Pakistan | 53 | 1.8 |
| Israel | 48 | 1.6 |
| Indonesia | 47 | 1.6 |

| Thuringia | Number | in % per state |
|---|---|---|
| China | 728 | 19.9 |
| Russian Federation | 265 | 7.3 |
| India | 141 | 3.9 |
| Syria | 117 | 3.2 |
| Ukraine | 107 | 2.9 |
| Vietnam | 100 | 2.7 |
| Korea, Rep. | 95 | 2.6 |
| Pakistan | 68 | 1.9 |
| Turkey | 63 | 1.7 |
| Georgia | 47 | 1.3 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by DAAD/HIS, 2013*

Table 15 illustrates the distribution of Bildungsausländer students from Asian and other relevant other countries in 2012. Accordingly, in quantitative terms Chinese *Bildungsausländer* are mostly represented in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia with 5,803 students representing 13 per cent of all *Bildungsausländer* in the federal entity, followed by Baden-Wuerttemberg with 3,429 (12.5 per cent), Bavaria with 2,416 equivalent to 11 per cent, by Lower Saxony with 2,214 students (19 per cent) and by Hesse with 1,712 *Bildungsausländer* corresponding to nine per cent. The highest percentage in relation to all *Bildungsausländer* is achieved in Saxony-Anhalt, where 36 per cent of all students are represented by students from China. *Bildungsausländer* from the Russian Federation are mainly concentrated in total numbers in North Rhine-Westphalia with 2,242 persons equal to five per cent, followed by Baden-Wuerttemberg with 1,238 (4.5 per cent) and by Bavaria with 1,232 students equivalent to around six per cent. The highest percentage in relation to all *Bildungsausländer* is reached in Brandenburg, where almost 11 per cent of all students are represented by students from the Russian Federation. Indian *Bildungsausländer* students are mainly represented in North Rhine-Westphalia with 1,413 corresponding to three per cent, followed by Baden-Wuerttemberg with 875 equal to three per cent and by Bavaria with 624, equivalent to around three per cent of all *Bildungsausländer* students. The highest percentage in relation to all *Bildungsausländer* is achieved in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania,

where five per cent of all students are represented by students from India. Ukrainian *Bildungsausländer* students are mostly represented in North Rhine-Westphalia with 1,165 equivalent to 2.7 per cent, in the state of Bavaria with 919 (four per cent) and in Hesse with 745 corresponding to four per cent. The highest percentage is reached in Rhineland-Palatinate with 4.8 per cent. Finally, *Bildungsausländer* from Vietnam are highly represented in Saxony with 319 people (three per cent), in Lower Saxony with 269 (two per cent) and in Hesse with 266 equivalent to 1.5 per cent. The highest share among all *Bildungsausländer* is reached in Saxony with three per cent. Turkish and Ukrainian *Bildungsausländer* are in absolute number concentrated in North Rhine-Westphalia with 1, 912 and 1, 165 persons, which is followed by temporal residences in Baden Wuerttemberg in the Turkish case with 1010 and by temporal residences in Bavaria in the Ukrainian case with 919 students.

It is clear that the total number of *Bildungsausländer* is strongly related to the size of each federal state, meaning that according to the population size also the number of universities is increasing, which should attract more international students. Nonetheless this table gives an idea where certain *Bildungsausländer* are mostly focused in Germany, but also first information about migrant ties, such as in the case of Vietnamese students, who are concentrated in states of East Germany that other foreign student groups not prefer. Most likely this stays in close relation to migrant networks that connect recently entering foreign students with previously immigrated Vietnamese labourers.

After discussing some quantitative characteristics and developments of Asian university students, finally the authors now address student stays beyond university studies of university students after graduating. As noted above, although this context is strongly related to the analytical category of international students, it also has a definite connection with other immigrant categories, such as independent job seekers and highly-qualified personnel. While post-graduate persons will be addressed in the next table, the existing interconnection of immigrant categories will be considered in the concluding discussion.

*Language school students*

While university students are the most significant student group, there are, as noted above, also other Asian students groups, who enter Germany temporarily in order to obtain a qualification. The following table 16 illustrates an eight year development of students, who arrived in Germany with the objective to study in a language school. The medium-term trends, according to the respective countries of origin, are discussed subsequently.

**Table 16**: Quantity of entrances of foreign language students from selected Asian countries, 2005-2012

| Country of origin | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | Total | Women |
| China | 170 | 345 | 465 | 355 | 270 | 415 | 396 | 435 | 234 |
| Japan | 155 | 268 | 272 | 248 | 237 | 256 | 293 | 341 | 241 |
| Korea, Rep. | 104 | 191 | 271 | 209 | 182 | 211 | 213 | 263 | 176 |
| Russian Federation | 114 | 127 | 164 | 152 | 144 | 162 | 212 | 255 | 175 |
| Thailand | 105 | 196 | 208 | 168 | 151 | 181 | 158 | 154 | 110 |
| Turkey | 113 | 103 | 116 | 106 | 98 | 102 | 108 | 140 | 57 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF (2014a: 90)*

Table 16 shows that the number of language students from China amounted in 2005 to 170 students. After eight years, this number rose by 156 per cent to 435 language students. A peak was reached in 2007, when 465 language students entered the country. The share of gender was as in all Chinese student categories very balanced, observable in the share of females in 2012 that amounted to 54 per cent. Language students from Japan were represented in 2005 by 155 persons. This number rose in 2012 to 341, equivalent to an increase of 120 per cent. In the same year, the share of women was disproportionally high with 71 per cent. Finally, the number of Thai language students was amounting to 105 in 2005. This quantity climbed slightly by 47 per cent to 154 persons. Similar to the case of Japan, the share of women is with 71 per cent very high. It remains clear that language school students embody in contrast to university students a very small immigration group that is represented mostly by short-term temporary immigrants.

*Foreign apprentices (Auszubildende)*

Table 17 illustrates an eight year trend of foreigners, who entered Germany with the aim to carry out a vocational training. The medium-term quantitative development of the specific apprentices is addressed in the following sections.

**Table 17**: Quantity of entrances of apprentices from selected Asian countries, 2005-2012

| Country of origin | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | total | women |
| China | 330 | 631 | 738 | 781 | 549 | 537 | 596 | 447 | 219 |
| India | 111 | 162 | 277 | 346 | 303 | 313 | 389 | 351 | 68 |
| Philippines | 30 | 108 | 110 | 83 | 137 | 136 | 105 | 137 | 7 |
| Russian Federation | 273 | 431 | 459 | 515 | 525 | 430 | 260 | 132 | 81 |
| Japan | 71 | 103 | 121 | 144 | 121 | 135 | 142 | 118 | 40 |
| Turkey | 124 | 83 | 91 | 169 | 123 | 136 | 108 | 114 | 45 |
| Ukraine | 129 | 195 | 228 | 147 | 156 | 193 | 158 | 86 | 45 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF (2014a: 91)*

Accordingly, the number of Chinese students who accomplished a vocational training amounted in 2005 to 330 persons. This number increased one year later by 91 per cent to 631 Chinese immigrants. In the following year, this number increased again to a total amount of 738 persons. A quantitative peak was reached in 2008 with 781 Chinese trainees, representing an increase of 24 per cent in comparison to 2006. In the subsequent year the total number began to decrease again, reaching only 447 Chinese immigrants in 2012, who entered with the purpose of accomplishing a professional training. In comparison to 2008 this trend signifies a decrease of 43 per cent. The share of women was amounting in the same year to 219, equivalent to 49 per cent, who entered Germany in 2012. In the case of Indian immigrants, who entered the country in order to carry out a vocational training, the medium-term development was progressing in a different way. In 2005, only 111 Indian apprentices arrived in Germany. In the following years, the number increased gradually and reached a peak in 2011 with 389, corresponding to a growth of 250 per cent. In 2012, the quantity declined slightly by ten per cent to a total number of 351. As in any relevant student subcategory, also in the case of Indian trainees, the share of women was significantly low, corresponding to only 19 per cent of the whole quantity in 2012. Also Philippine immigrants play a role in the context of vocational training. Consequently, in 2005 the number of this immigrant group was amounting to only 30 trainees. This number rose over the last year and stabilized by 137 Philippine apprentices in 2012. It is important to highlight the very low share of women in 2012. Accordingly, women were represented by only seven immigrants, equivalent to 5 per cent of the whole number in the noted year. Turkish apprentices were represented in 2006 by 124 persons. After an up and down motion over the next six year in 2012 the number of Turkish students amounted to 114 persons in 2012, equivalent to slight decrease of eight per cent in comparison to 2006. Finally, the number of Ukrainian apprentices was amounting in 2005 to 129 persons. The number increased until 2007 by 177 per cent. Thereafter, the numbers began to decrease again, amounting in 2012 to only 86 immigrants, equivalent to 67 per cent of the total number of 2005. The share of women was moderate in 2012 with 45 female immigrants, which is equivalent to 52 per cent. With the exception of Philippine apprentices, after an initial increase in all cases, the number began to decrease again until the year 2012. Furthermore, the cases of Philippine and Indian apprentices show a very low share of female immigrants. The particular reasons cannot be revealed by the existing quantitative information and need a more profound analysis.

A specific form of vocational training is the formation of nurses, often still in the country of origin, who then migrate to a developed country, including Germany, generally for a limited period of time to work. Temporary, predominantly female, migration from developing countries to Europe for the purpose of care has been organized in different schemes and

supported by governments of developing countries, particularly in Asia, in the context of development policies. One example is the government of Sri Lanka, which prepares prospective migrant women with language courses and professional training for their stay in Italy and attends to them while they are abroad. The Philippines organize temporary emigration of women for care work in the context of bilateral agreements with different countries, including Germany. Yet, other countries restrict emigration policies for women; India only allows women above the age of 30 to emigrate for care work, assuming that they will already have a family to remit to and the intention to return after a certain period of time (Kontos, 2010).

Before the reforms related to skilled and high-skilled immigration – due to the shortage of personnel in the care sector – foreign qualified nurses with sufficient language skills could already come to Germany for temporary work under Article 30 (BeschV alt), provided that the German government found an agreement with the labour administration in the country of origin. Since 2013, the immigration of nurses is regulated under the general legislation for immigration of high-skilled workers who have completed vocational training in the country of origin in Article 6, Section 2 (*BeschV neu*). Since early 2013, the German Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*) maintains agreements about the temporary placement of care personnel with the Philippines, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Tunisia. There are also negotiations with China about the placement of 150 Chinese working in geriatric care in Germany. Numbers of employees in the care sector, who have migrated to Germany in the context of these schemes, are relatively small. The number of placements decreased between 1996 and 1999 from 398 to 74 persons, and increased again to 358 persons in 2002. In 2011, 100 caregivers came to Germany under this scheme, in 2012 the number increased to 141 (BAMF, 2014a: 70-71).

*Au-Pair students*

Table 18 shows an eight year trend of foreigners, who came to Germany with the intention to perform an Au-Pair stay. The medium-term quantitative advance of the specific Au-Pair students is discussed in continuation.

**Table 18**: Numbers of Au-Pair students from selected Asian countries, 2006-2012

| Country of origin | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| China | 284 | 354 | 431 | 413 | 425 | 397 | 393 |
| Indonesia | 132 | 127 | 190 | 194 | 214 | 169 | 190 |
| Georgia | 1.444 | 761 | 725 | 721 | 701 | 800 | 792 |
| Madagascar | 22 | 54 | 86 | 70 | 66 | 106 | 171 |
| Mongolia | 192 | 120 | 96 | 86 | 89 | 161 | 165 |
| Kyrgyzstan | 386 | 545 | 428 | 315 | 287 | 305 | 243 |
| Russian Federation | 1.610 | 1.415 | 1.128 | 1.058 | 1.026 | 863 | 729 |
| Ukraine | 1.855 | 1.489 | 1.133 | 1.118 | 1.155 | 1.103 | 1.067 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data of BAMF (2014a: 72)*

Consequently, the number of Chinese Au-Pair students amounted in 2006 to 284. After gradually increasing in the subsequent years, a peak was reached in 2008 with 431 Au-Pairs, equivalent to 151 per cent in comparison to the base year 2006. Georgia is also representing a significant country of origin for Au-Pair students. While in 2006 1,444 Au-Pair students arrived in Germany, this high number decreased gradually in the following years and reached only 792 students in 2012, corresponding to 45 per cent of the base year 2006. Finally, the most significant country of origin is represented by Ukraine; those Au-Pair numbers also decreased over the years. While in 2006 the number was amounting to 1,855 students, who entered Germany, this number decreased gradually and reached a low point of 1,067 persons in 2012, equivalent to 43 per cent of the base year 2006.

*Independent job seekers*

Independent job seekers are those skilled or high-skilled foreigners, who enter with the objective to search for an adequate job opportunity. Furthermore, foreign nationals, who conclude university studies in Germany, can be perceived as part of this subcategory. The following legal reforms permit independent job seekers from Asia the entrance to Germany:

a) According to the German version of **the Implementation of the EU-Directive for High-qualified Persons** of August 2012, manifested in Article 18c of the Residence Act, third country professionals (with a German university degree, as well as a recognised or equivalent foreign university degree) obtain the permission to enter Germany with the objective to search for an appropriate occupation. The permission is limited for up to six months and the exercise of an occupation is not allowed in this period. Limited residence permission is also awardable for foreign professionals, who already stay in Germany (BAMF, 2013b).

b) According to Article 16 (5b) of the Residence Act, skilled persons, who completed a vocational training in Germany, obtain the right for a temporal residence permit of one year to search for an appropriated occupation. This group has the right to exercise an occupation in this period.

c) Moreover, also third country German university graduates have, according to Article 16 (4) of the Residence Act, the right to stay in the country after finishing studies for a period of 18 months (extended in 2012 from 12 to 18 months) to search for an occupation.

**Table 19**: Quantity of residence permits for university graduates of selected countries of origin, by sex as constituted on 31 December 2012

| Country of origin | Total | Share of women | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Quantity | Percentage |
| China | 1,168 | 588 | 50.3 |
| Russian Federation | 308 | 242 | 78.6 |
| India | 218 | 44 | 20.2 |
| Ukraine | 188 | 145 | 77.1 |
| Turkey | 180 | 63 | 35 |
| Korea, Rep. | 163 | 107 | 65.6 |
| Indonesia | 108 | 53 | 49.1 |
| Vietnam | 97 | 47 | 48.5 |
| Pakistan | 79 | 7 | 8.9 |
| Taiwan | 59 | 43 | 72.9 |
| Georgia | 55 | 42 | 76.4 |
| Belarus | 54 | 39 | 72.2 |
| Japan | 54 | 34 | 63 |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by BAMF (2014a: 88)*

Table 19 illustrates the quantity of Asian post-graduates, who received a residence permit after finishing university studies. Consequently, coherent with the previous data, Chinese degree holders are with 1,168 persons in 2012 the most significant post-graduate group regarding granted residence permit according to the Article 16 (4) of the Residence Act. The share of women amounted to 50.3 per cent, representing a very balanced gender distribution. Chinese immigrants are followed by those of the Russian Federation with 308 degree holders, whereby more than three out of four are represented by women. Indian post-graduates, who received a residence permit after university studies in order to search for a job, amounted to 218 persons in 2012. Similar to the distribution of quantities of Indian students, the male post-graduate job seekers are dominating with 80 per cent. Turkish graduates, who seek a job after studies amounted to 180 persons, whereby the share of women amounted to only 35 per cent. In the cases of Korean, Taiwanese, Georgian, Belarusian, and Japanese post-graduates the share of women, who received a residence permit was in 2012 disproportionally high. In turn, the share of female post-graduates from Pakistan, who obtained a residence permit, was in the same year extremely low. The table shows that the quantitative trend regarding the numbers of international students and graduates from certain Asian countries of origin are also reflected similarly in the sizes of students, who stay after concluding university studies in order to seek an adequate occupation.

Migrant entrepreneurs

The immigration of foreigners for the purpose of establishing a business is regulated by Article 21 of the Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*) in the context of the New Foreigner Law (*Neues Zuwanderungsgesetz*). Temporary residence in Germany can be granted under the condition that the business will provide a significant economic contribution. Criteria are a sound business plan, a contribution to innovation and research in Germany, and the necessary experience and capital to establish and manage the proposed business. After three years, and provided that the business has proven to be successful, permanent residence can be granted under certain conditions (BAMF, 2014a). Table 20 shows the numbers of visas granted for entrepreneurship in Germany by nationality between 2005 and 2012.

In 2005 and 2006, the largest group of foreigners entering Germany under this scheme were Chinese with 201 and 195 visa applications granted, respectively. Since then, most residence permits were granted to applicants from the USA, followed by Chinese whose number dropped to 125 individuals in 2012, which constitutes 9.2 per cent of all migrants who entered Germany in 2012 under this immigration scheme (BAMF, 2014a: 79). In total, 7,049 third country nationals had been issued a residence permit as entrepreneur between the entry into force of the New Foreigner Law in January 2005 and the end of 2012. Additionally, 957 persons, including 273 women were granted a permanent residence permit according to Article 21 (4), Residence Act.

**Table 20**: Visas granted for entrepreneurship in Germany by nationality from 2005 to 2012

| | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | women in 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| USA | 174 | 138 | 276 | 360 | 337 | 384 | 512 | 540 | 212 |
| China | 201 | 195 | 214 | 214 | 133 | 85 | 120 | 125 | 44 |
| Russian Federation | 40 | 39 | 50 | 77 | 59 | 77 | 77 | 100 | 33 |
| Canada | 32 | 24 | 53 | 46 | 37 | 74 | 73 | 78 | 41 |
| Australia | 22 | 35 | 40 | 63 | 59 | 53 | 74 | 77 | 33 |
| Ukraine | 19 | 20 | 36 | 37 | 71 | 88 | 89 | 72 | 27 |
| Japan | 45 | 17 | 28 | 16 | 30 | 32 | 50 | 57 | 31 |
| Israel | 9 | 7 | 25 | 12 | 19 | 38 | 30 | 45 | 17 |
| Iran | 19 | 13 | 10 | 15 | 17 | 27 | 35 | 30 | 4 |
| Republic of Korea | 29 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 11 | 16 | 21 | 25 | 14 |
| New Zealand | 8 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 9 | 29 | 20 | 6 |
| Turkey | 25 | 22 | 16 | 23 | 13 | 20 | 26 | 19 | 0 |
| Others | 109 | 114 | 115 | 354 | 223 | 137 | 212 | 170 | 40 |
| TOTAL | 732 | 642 | 891 | 1239 | 1024 | 1040 | 1347 | 1358 | 502 |

*Source: BAMF, 2014a – based on data from the German Central Aliens Register (AZR)*

A survey on the structure and on socio-economic criteria of migrants who entered Germany under Article 21, Residence Act on migrant entrepreneurs shows that 24.5 per cent are engaged in the sector *art, entertainment and recreation*, 21.3 per cent in the sector commerce, and 18 per cent in the sector *education*. While US-Americans are mainly engaged in the educational sector, for instance offering language classes, the majority of Chinese entrepreneurs engage in commerce. Russian entrepreneurs are with approximately equal shares engaged in either of the three sectors. The majority of migrants in this category is male (62 per cent), and with an average age of 40.2 years older than female entrepreneurs with an average age of 36.2 years. Migrant entrepreneurs who entered Germany under Article 21, Residence Act are educated above average, 69.1 per cent hold a university degree and an additional 10.1 per cent a title of master craftsman (*Meistertitel*).

Generally, revenues were in 2009 and 2010 with around 50,000 EUR per annum relatively low, while entrepreneurs in the sector *commerce* managed to achieve the highest revenues. Nevertheless does the majority of migrants in this category plan to stay in Germany for a longer period of time, often 10 years or longer in Germany are envisaged (Block & Klingert, 2012).

*Family reunification*

Since January 2005, migration to Germany in the context of family reunification is regulated by Article 27-36 of the Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*), as part of the New Foreigner Law (*Neues Zuwanderungsgesetz*). The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge – BAMF*), in its annual migration report analyses data from two sources, which can only to some extent be compared because of the different ways, in which the data are generated. The first data source is the visa statistics by the German Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They show all cases, in which visa applications for the purpose of family reunification are issued by a German embassy abroad. Yet, cases in which people enter Germany for other reasons, such as tourism, education or business, and then apply for a family reunification once they are already in Germany are not included in this statistics (BAMF, 2014a).

**Table 21**: Family migration as percentage of total migration for third country nationals from selected Asian countries in 2012

| | |
|---|---|
| **China** | 10.9 |
| **India** | 21.8 |
| **Ukraine** | 24.2 |
| **Russian Federation** | 22.6 |
| **Syria** | 7.9 |
| **Afghanistan** | 6.1 |

*Source: BAMF, 2014a*

Since 2005, when the purpose of stay of foreigners in Germany started to be statistically captured in the context of the New Foreigner Law, data is also available from the Central Aliens Register (Ausländerzentralregister). This data includes cases, in which the title of residence for family reunification was only granted after the applicant had already migrated to Germany (ibid). In 2012, 17.9 per cent of all third country nationals migrating to Germany fell into the category of family migration (BAMF, 2014a). The percentage of family migration among the total number of migrants per nationality varies significantly. Table 21 shows the development of the share of migration for family reunification for selected Asian countries in 2012.

While it is still an important category of immigration, the total number of migrants who enter Germany in the context of family reunification had been steadily in decline since 2002 (Kreienbrink & Rühl, 2007). This trend stopped in 2009, when numbers slightly increased again in comparison with 2010, and have remained at a fairly constant level since. The downward trend in numbers over the past decade can both be observed for family members/spouses joining German and foreign family members or partners in Germany. In absolute numbers, since 2000 immigration to join German spouses exceeds the number of cases in which spouses join their foreign partners with a resident permit in Germany. Yet, in 2012, 29.5 per cent of all family reunification visas were issued for wives to join their foreign husbands, as compared to 26.9 per cent of visa issued to women joining a German husband. In total, women joining their partners in Germany constitute with 56.4 per cent the largest group of persons to whom family reunification visa were issued. The share of husbands joining their wives in Germany was 21.6 per cent in 2012 and the remainder of about 22 per cent were children joining their parents (BAMF, 2014a). Table 22 provides an overview of the trend of visa issued for different groups of people in the context of family reunification from 2000 to 2012.

The largest number of nationals entering Germany in 2012 for the purpose of family reunification was with 15.6 per cent still constituted by Turkish nationals. Yet, both absolute num-

bers and share of Turkish nationals of the total of family reunification visa have significantly declined since 2002.

**Table 22**: Visa issued for the purpose of family reunification in Germany from 2000 to 2012 in per cent

| | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Wives to foreign husbands** | 26.2 | 25.9 | 25.3 | 24.2 | 22.3 | 24.6 | 26.2 | 26.5 | 28.1 | 30.1 | 29.6 | 28.8 | 29.5 |
| **Husbands to foreign wives** | 10.1 | 9.4 | 9.6 | 8.6 | 8.2 | 7.6 | 7.4 | 7.1 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 7.1 | 7.6 | 7.3 |
| **Wives to German husbands** | 24.9 | 25.1 | 23.8 | 27.0 | 31.0 | 28.1 | 28.0 | 27.5 | 27.2 | 27.1 | 28.0 | 28.2 | 26.9 |
| **Husbands to German wives** | 15.5 | 15.7 | 16.3 | 16.7 | 16.6 | 16.6 | 17.1 | 15.8 | 14.8 | 13.6 | 14.0 | 15.1 | 14.3 |
| **Children under 18** | 23.3 | 23.9 | 25.0 | 23.5 | 21.8 | 23.1 | 21.3 | 23.1 | 22.5 | 22.4 | 21.3 | 20.3 | 21.3 |
| **Others** | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.4 |

*Source: Authors' compilation, based on BAMF, 2014a*

**Table 23**: Share of selected Asian countries of total visas issued for family reunification (total number of family reunification visas issued per year in brackets)

| | 2005 (total 53,213) | 2006 (total 50,300) | 2007 (total 42,219) | 2008 (total 39,717) | 2009 (total 42,756) | 2010 (total 40,210) | 2011 (total 40,975) | 2012 (total 40,843) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **China** | n/a | n/a | 2.9 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 5. 0 |
| **India** | 2.7 | 2.9 | 4.2 | 6.1 | 6.0 | 6.6 | 7.1 | 9.7 |
| **Thailand** | 6.1 | 5.6 | 5.3 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 4.3 | 3.2 | 2.6 |
| **Ukraine** | 2.9 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 3.7 | 3.9 |
| **Russian Federation** | 8.6 | 8.6 | 7.9 | 6.6 | 6.4 | 6.7 | 7.5 | 7.8 |
| **Syria** | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 5.7 | 7.3 | 3.3 | n/a |
| **Afghanistan** | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| **Kazakhstan** | 3.1 | 2.5 | 2.2 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| **Vietnam** | n/a | 2.3 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

*Source: Authors, based on BAMF Migration Reports 2005-2012*

The second largest group of nationals entering Germany with a family reunification visa in 2012 were Indian nationals with a share of 9.7 per cent. Since 2005 this percentage has constantly risen and is dominated by wives joining foreign husbands, which corresponds to the increase of visas issued for highly qualified Indians during the same period of time. On the other hand, the majority of family reunification visa for women from Thailand and the Philippines was issued to join German husbands (BAMF, 2014a). This reflects the high importance of arranged marriage migration from Asian countries, as illustrated by Stelzig-Willutzki (2012). Since 2007, the number of cases of family reunification of Chinese nationals shows an increasing trend from 2.9 per cent to five per cent in 2012. Table 23 provides an

overview of the share of selected Asian countries of the total number of visa issued for the purpose of family reunification (BAMF, 2014a).

*Refugees and asylum seekers*

After a peak in the early 1990s, the total number of applications for asylum in Germany decreased until 2007 and has slightly risen again since. 1992 was the year with the highest number of asylum applications (438,191) in history and 2007 the year with the lowest number (19,164). The decline in the second half of the 1990s can to some extent be explained by changes to the way data are captured. Statistics before 1995 provide a combined number of first applications for asylum as well as follow-up applications filed, in case the first application was denied. Since 1995, only first asylum applications have been counted. Data from the first half of the 1990s therefore show an overcount in relation to later statistics (BAMF, 2014a). Yet, the safe-third-country regulation (*Drittstaatenregelung*), which entered into force in 1993 and regulated that foreigners entering from safe third countries cannot enjoy asylum in Germany, also led to a significant decrease of first time asylum applications in Germany. Nevertheless, in the 1990s Germany was the European country, which received the highest number of asylum seekers. This trend stopped in 2002, when the UK became the European country receiving most asylum applications in absolute numbers (IPPR, 2003). Since 2008, the number of asylum applications in Germany has been growing again. In 2012, 64,539 asylum applications were filed in total, which was the highest number since 2002. This trend continued to rise until 2014. During the first quarter of 2014, 37,820 applications for asylum were filed by the BAMF as compared to 21,520 in 2013, which is an increase of more than 75 per cent (BAMF, 2014c).

In 2012, slightly more than a third of all applications were filed by female applicants (38.2 per cent). This signifies a moderate rise of the share of women from 30.1 per cent in 2003. There are significant differences with respect to the gender ratio for asylum applicants from different countries. While the percentage of female applicants from Serbia, Macedonia and Russia was close to 50 per cent in 2012, only 16.4 per cent of applicants from Pakistan were female in 2012. The majority of applicants (71.3 per cent) were younger than 30, and 37.8 per cent were even younger than 18 (BAMF, 2014a).

Refugees from Europe including Turkey and the former USSR/Russian Federation constituted the largest group of asylum seekers until the end of the 1990s. Since the year 2000, the largest group of refugees applying for asylum in Germany are nationals of Asian countries. In 2012, their share of the total number of asylum applications was 51.1 percent, compared to 34.9 percent of refugees from Europe and 12.9 per cent from African countries. Table 24 shows the development of asylum applications per continent in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total number of asylum applications between 2005 and 2012. The

absolute number of asylum applications by refugees from Asia has almost tripled between 2005 and 2012, interrupted by a decline from 11,310 applications in 2005 to 8,997 applications in 2006. Since then the number of asylum applications by Asian nationals has constantly risen to the highest absolute number so far in 2012 with 32,973 applications. The share of Asia of the total of asylum applications in Germany has followed a somewhat different development. Constantly rising between 2005 and 2009, it reached its peak in 2009 with 64.3 per cent and declined to 52.2 per cent in 2010. Rising to 59.9 per cent in 2011, it declined again to 51.1 per cent in 2012.

**Table 24**: Development of asylum applications per continent in absolute numbers

| | **2005** | **2006** | **2007** | **2008** | **2009** | **2010** | **2011** | **2012** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Asia** | 11,310<br>39.1% | 8,997<br>42.8% | 10,262<br>53.5% | 13,599<br>61.6% | 17,765<br>64.3% | 21,591<br>52.2% | 27,381<br>59.9% | 32,973<br>51.1% |
| **Europe** | 11,712<br>40.5% | 7,447<br>35.4% | 4,930<br>25.7% | 4,266<br>19.3% | 4,972<br>18.0% | 12,279<br>29.7% | 11,042<br>24.1% | 22,526<br>34.9% |
| **Africa** | 5,278<br>18.3% | 3,855<br>18.3% | 3,486<br>18.2% | 3,856<br>17.5% | 4,436<br>16% | 6,826<br>16.5% | 6,550<br>14.3% | 8,327<br>12.9% |
| **America, Australia** | 115<br>0.4% | 359<br>1.7% | 122<br>0.6% | 62<br>0.3% | 61<br>0.2% | 59<br>0.1% | 139<br>0.3% | 131<br>0.2% |
| **Stateless people** | 499<br>1.7% | 371<br>1.8% | 364<br>1.9% | 302<br>1.4% | 415<br>1.5% | 577<br>1.4% | 629<br>1.4% | 582<br>0.9% |
| **TOTAL** | *28,914* | *21,029* | *19,164* | *22,085* | *27,649* | *41,332* | *45,741* | *65,539* |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on BAMF, 2014a: 259-260*

In 2012, most asylum applications in Germany were filed by Serbian nationals (8,477 – 13.1 per cent), followed by nationals from Afghanistan (7,498 – 11.6 per cent), and Syria (6,201 – 13.1 per cent). In the same year, other Asian countries among the ten most important sending countries for refugees in Germany were Iraq (8.3 per cent), Iran (6.7 per cent), Pakistan (5.3 per cent) and the Russian Federation (5 per cent).

**Table 25**: Development of asylum applications for selected Asian countries in absolute numbers

| | **2005** | **2006** | **2007** | **2008** | **2009** | **2010** | **2011** | **2012** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Afghanistan** | 711 | 531 | 338 | 657 | 3,375 | 5,905 | 7,767 | 7,498 |
| **Armenia** | 555 | 303 | 239 | 198 | 264 | 296 | 335 | 570 |
| **Azerbaijan** | 848 | 483 | 274 | 360 | 652 | 469 | 646 | 547 |
| **Bangladesh** | 92 | 107 | 65 | 45 | 49 | 92 | 143 | 304 |
| **China** | 633 | 440 | 253 | 299 | 371 | 367 | 339 | 279 |
| **Georgia** | 493 | 240 | 181 | 232 | 560 | 664 | 471 | 1,298 |
| **India** | 557 | 512 | 413 | 485 | 681 | 810 | 822 | 885 |
| **Iraq** | 1,983 | 2,117 | 4,327 | 6,836 | 6,538 | 5,555 | 5,831 | 5,352 |
| **Iran** | 929 | 611 | 631 | 815 | 1,170 | 2,475 | 3,352 | 4,348 |
| **Lebanon** | 588 | 601 | 592 | 525 | 434 | 324 | 405 | 464 |
| **Pakistan** | 551 | 464 | 301 | 320 | 481 | 840 | 2,539 | 3,412 |
| **Sri Lanka** | 220 | 170 | 375 | 468 | 531 | 435 | 521 | 430 |
| **Syria** | 933 | 609 | 634 | 775 | 819 | 1,490 | 2,634 | 6,201 |
| **Vietnam** | 1,222 | 990 | 987 | 1,042 | 1.115 | 1,009 | 758 | 660 |
| **TOTAL ASIA** | *11,310* | *8,997* | *10,262* | *13,599* | *17,765* | *21,591* | *27,381* | *32,973* |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on BAMF, 2014a: 259-260*

As table 25 shows, there has been a tremendous rise of the number of refugees from these countries coming to Germany between 2005 and 2012. On the other hand, the number of refugees coming to Germany from Vietnam decreased about 50 per cent. Numbers of refugees from China have also decreased by more than 50 per cent. After a low in 2007 of numbers of refugees from India, their number has almost doubled again since that year, reaching 885 people in 2012 (BAMF, 2014a).

In addition to statistics about asylum applications, the BAMF also collects data about the outcomes of asylum procedures. These data are not comparable on an annual basis to the number of visa applications because decisions on visa applications are not necessarily taken in the same year. Between 1990 and 2012, more than 3.1 million asylum applications were processed by the BAMF. On average, over this period, the percentage of applicants for which asylum was granted based on Article 16a was constantly below 10 per cent, since 1997 below six per cent. With 0.8 per cent, the lowest quota was reached in 2006. It has risen again in 2012 to 1.2 per cent. Next to the recognition of asylum applications, the BAMF processes applications for refugee status according to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention. In 2012, 13 per cent of the applicants were granted refugee status under this scheme. Also in 2012, 13.5 per cent of asylum seekers were granted protection in the form of a deportation ban (*Abschiebeverbot*). This leads to a total protection quota of 27.7 per cent (17,140 persons) in 2012. 49.9 per cent of all applications were declined, while the remainder of 22.6 per cent were treated by other countries in the context of the Dublin procedure, were cases

in which the applicant withdrew the application, or were cases of second applications, which were not processed again (BAMF, 2014a).

**Table 26**: Positive decisions on Asylum for selected Asian countries: 2005-2012

| | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Syria** | 223 | 116 | 113 | 115 | 156 | 370 | 429 | 7,467 |
| **Iraq** | 82 | 189 | 5,794 | 5,794 | 5,727 | 3,434 | 2,877 | 2,780 |
| **Afghanistan** | 165 | 244 | 199 | 178 | 952 | 2,195 | 2,258 | 1,813 |
| **Iran** | 381 | 167 | 380 | 320 | 597 | 1,472 | 1,432 | 1,658 |
| **Pakistan** | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 158 | 300 |
| **Russian Federation** | 564 | 197 | 225 | 171 | 185 | 334 | 177 | 171 |
| **Vietnam** | 19 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 11 | 13 | n/a | n/a |
| **India** | n/a | 4 | n/a | n/a | 4 | 11 | n/a | n/a |
| **Azerbaijan** | 88 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| **Sri Lanka** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 228 | 458 | n/a | n/a | n/a |

*Source: BAMF – 2005-2012*

Asylum seekers are geographically unequally distributed within Germany. Once a refugee applies for asylum, either at the border or after entering Germany as an undocumented migrant, he will be allocated to the federal state (Bundesland) responsible for his case. The distribution of refugees to the different federal states depends on the current intake capacity of each state, the nationality of the applicant, and an allocation formula, which is calculated every year depending on the number of inhabitants and the income by tax revenues of each state (Königsteiner Schlüssel). In 2014, North-Rhine-Westphalia (21 per cent) and Bavaria (15.2 per cent) will receive the largest share of asylum applicants, while the city state of Bremen will host the lowest share with less than one per cent[13].

## 4. Migration from Germany to Asia: Existing Research and Empirical Trends

Asian countries are not among the most important destinations for German migrants in terms of numbers. In 2012, 133,232 Germans left Germany. Out of this number, 54,602 persons (41 per cent) went to another EU member state (EU-26) and 12,803 persons (9.6 per cent) went to the USA. Switzerland was the most important single destination country with 20,826 persons or 15.6 per cent of all German emigrants moving to Switzerland (BAMF, 2014a: 152). Combining the number of Germans and foreigners leaving Germany in 2012,

[13] http://www.bamf.de/DE/Migration/AsylFluechtlinge/Asylverfahren/Verteilung/verteilung-node.html

Asia was the destination of 11 per cent of all migrants leaving Germany. This indicates a positive migration balance with 133,673 persons moving from Asia to Germany and 78,253 persons leaving Germany for Asia (BAMF, 2014a).

Yet, in times of ever increasing global mobility, Asia has become a more attractive region for German students, professionals and life-style migrants. While, for example, numbers of German migrants to the USA have remained relatively stable over the past two decades, numbers of German migrants moving to China have increased more than eleven times from 263 persons in 1991 to 2,928 persons in 2012 (BAMF, 2014a:154). This increase of the volume of German migration to China is part of a global trend, which shows that China has become an increasingly attractive destination for migrants from developing and developed countries in Asia, but also for European countries and the USA (IOM, 2013: 77). Literature and statistics on migration from Germany to Asia are even scarcer than publications about migration from Asia to Germany. Due to this limitation of data, the following sections particularly focus on the numerically most important categories of migrants moving from Germany to Asia: students, professionals including researchers and intra-company transferees, as well as 'others', which include retirement migrants and life-style seekers.

### 4.1. Literature review on relevant categories of Asian migrants

In line with the structure of the above section on Asian migration to Germany, this chapter starts with a brief literature review of existent research on migration from Asia to Germany. As in the German context no legislation on emigration exists, the authors do not consider policies, which might regulate the inflow of foreigners into Asian countries.

*International students from Germany*

Analytically, university students, who live in Germany and leave the country, can be divided into distinct subcategories; some of these will be discussed in the beginning of the section in order to delimit the understanding of international students from Germany in this paper.

Principally, from a methodological point of view international university students can be perceived as: a) German nationals or foreigners with a residence or settlement permit, who immigrate temporarily to a third-country in order to study several semesters, or a complete course of university studies, and b) foreign nationals, who previously studied a semester or a complete study and return to the country of origin. While the former group can be defined as temporary migrants, the latter group can be considered international return migrants, who mostly represent the above discussed sub-category of *Bildungsausländer* students. International students can also be subdivided in another way, such as: a) international students that are German nationals and b) international students, who represent *Bildungsinländer*, meaning German university students, who have a foreign nationality but pos-

sess a residence or settlement permit in Germany. Another distinction can be accomplished by dividing international students from Germany with regard to the particular motivation and therewith the durability of university stays abroad. In the annual report of the *German Academic Exchange Service* (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst – DAAD*) and the *Institute for University Research* (*Institut für Hochschulforschung – HIS*) "degree mobility", meaning a long-term stay and "credit mobility", representing a temporal sojourn are distinguished: while the first concept "covers all study visits in which a degree is gained abroad [the latter term] refers to study-related visits abroad in the course of a domestic study programme, which lasted at least three months and/or during which at least 15 ECTS credits were acquired. As well as temporary study visits abroad, this also includes visits abroad as part of placements, language courses, study tours, project work and summer schools" (DAAD/HIS, 2013: 58).

In this section the authors' focus is set on German nationals or foreigners with a residence or settlement permit, who immigrate temporarily to a third-country in order to study several semesters, or a complete university study. Therewith, international university students from Germany are not differentiated in *Bildungsausländer*, *Bildungsinländer* and German nationals, nor distinguished between degree and credit mobility.

The general discussion about international university students, who depart from Germany in order to accomplish semesters abroad or complete their studies in a foreign country, is principally embedded in a similar discussion than the above noted debate on foreign international university students' entrance to Germany. Accordingly, it is argued that the mobility of students and scholars is not a new social practice and – especially in the case of Germany – internationalisation was and still is an essential part of academic activities (Isserstedt & Schnitzer, 2005). Although the significance of internationalisation of science was over the last centuries in a permanent process of transformation, recently the process of globalisation, including technological advances in communication and transport has not only restructured the conditions for economic practices worldwide, as well as the scope of political action, but also has substantially reshaped the academic arena of action over the last years. Players in this globalised world were and are compelled to respond to the new circumstances by adapting to, as well as by contributing to shape emerging structures under the process of globalisation. This is also the case in the context of universities; while internationalisation constituted over a long period the academic identity and particularity of universities in Germany, educational aid programs by formal institutional funds were established after the Second World War. One prominent example is the Fulbright-program that was initiated in order to support German students' university study abroad (Isserstedt & Schnitzer, 2005: 4). In recent years however, internationalisation, meaning, for instance, studies abroad are interpretated as an imperative in times of globalisation (ibid.). Universities, understood as global players in edu-

cation, are affected by globalisation and need to change their respective structures in order to remain competitive (Barrows et al. 2003; Eggins et al. 2003). In this context, competitiveness can be approached in two different ways:

- On the one side, the term can mean that countries, such as Germany, had to reform higher educational institutions in order to create favourable conditions for university students' inflows and outflows. Therewith not only future professionals should be attracted, but also German future professionals could be prepared adequately for work effectively in globalised economic and political frameworks and contribute in particular to Germany's future development and performance in the global market. Therewith, this conception addresses Germany's competitive role as a business location. By attracting international students and sending students temporally abroad, a strengthening of the German business location is envisaged.

- On the other side, competitiveness, as addressed by Isserstedt & Schnitzer (2005), or Barrow et al. (2003) denotes the competition among universities in a global context. The creation of favourable conditions for international student's inflow and outflow, and other international cooperation signifies the reinforcement of the German science and research location (Isserstedt & Schnitzer, 2005: 5) with the objective to compete successfully on a global level.

Generally speaking, in academic activities the aim is to create and to enhance the knowledge society, which in turn is linked to the future development of societies. Accordingly, the internationalisation of university education implicates the task to help shape the worldwide knowledge society by the promotion of academic exchange (ibid: 4). Principally, this can be carried out in two ways: Due to important advances in communication technologies, this can be achieved virtually, from which both students and scientists could potentially benefit (ibid.). However, the virtual knowledge transfer bears the disadvantage that different levels of language skills, unequal access to communication media, and fee-based information in combination with marginalisation in some regions can lead to unequal opportunities of participation.

Another form of scientific and educational exchange is basing on geographical mobility. Therewith, particular knowledge can be exchanged directly, for instance, through student or researcher exchange by respective programmes, which include temporal sojourns for accomplishing particular study modules, or in few cases whole university course abroad. Student and academic exchange is formally promoted in Germany. Prominent examples are represented, for instance, by the *European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students* (*ERASMUS*) founded in 1987, by the *German Academic Exchange Service* (*DAAD*) and its several scholarships for worldwide temporal student and researcher exchanges, as well as by different post-graduate student and post-doctoral researcher programmes of the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – DFG*).

Only a small body of literature addresses the subject of student exchange and the adverse preconditions in Germany for accomplishing university studies abroad. Weiß and Wiewiorra (2011) discuss this issue by addressing tight schemes of Bachelor or Master studies as a result of educational reforms under the Bologna Process Accordingly, the argumentation is that a challenging scheme of studies in combination with very high workloads represent central factors in Germany, which limit the freedom for considering an university stay abroad. On the other side, there is also evidence that the relevance of university studies abroad is not of high importance as an additional qualification in Germany. Hoffmann and Forch (2011), who refer to data of a DAAD study, argue that in 2009 only in 50 per cent of all cases analysed, study credits achieved abroad were recognised in Germany, and in 18 per cent of the cases there was no recognition of study credits received abroad.

In most cases, academic literature refers to scientific and educational temporal emigration only in general terms. As noted above, in some publications the advantages of student exchange with regard to individual qualifications are highlighted, or the expected benefits for Germany's development are focused on. However, there is hardly any literature that explicitly focuses on particularities in the outflow of international German university students. The following points summarise the current situation:

a) While academic internationalisation by researcher and student exchange is not a new context in Germany, new study countries are focused on and selected by German international students in recent years, such as some Asian countries. Why there is a turn towards Asian study countries remains still an open question to which no literature seems to refer.

b) There is neither literature found regarding networks and other transnational ties of international students from Germany, who study abroad. Particularly, there are no studies and literature with regard to transnational ties and migrant networks of German university students in new study countries, such as China.

c) No significant literature was found with regard to benefits or disadvantages that international academic agreements and cooperations – that are often manifested in international student exchanges – comprise for receiving countries, especially for Asian countries.

*Professionals*

In the context of increasing global mobility, professionals moving from Germany to Asia are another important category of migrants next to students. Statistics of Germans emigrating out of Germany do not include information about the purpose of the stay abroad or the level of

education of these emigrants. Therefore, no figures about the volume of emigration of skilled or high-skilled Germans exist, who often migrate temporarily to work on a project or assignment abroad before they return to Germany (BAMF, 2014a:150). There are different sub-categories of professional emigrants from Germany and different schemes under which they (temporarily) find employment in another country.

In 2012, the *International Placement Service of the German Federal Employment Agency* (*Zentrale Auslands- und Fachvermittlung – ZAV, Bundesamt für Arbeit*) arranged job placements abroad for 6,489 Germans, which constitutes a decrease of 31 per cent as compared to 2011 (9,421 placements). Sectors include development cooperation (442 persons) and international organisations (101 persons). With 77.7 per cent the vast majority of these arrangements was made with employers in European member states. The share of Asia as receiving region has been constantly growing from 4.9 per cent in 2007 to 6.6 per cent (426 placements) in 2012 (BAMF, 2014a:276). Two further important sub-categories of Germans moving temporarily abroad are intra-company transferees (expatriates) and researchers.

The Oxford English Dictionary broadly defines an expatriate as "a person who lives outside their native country". Yet, in the current use of language the term refers to skilled or high-skilled employees, who are sent to a branch office abroad for a limited period of time by an internationally operating company, or as "highly skilled temporary migrants and accompanying spouses" (van Bochove & Engbersen, 2013). A 2010 study by the British magazine Economist, based on 400 interviews with young managers worldwide found that about 80 per cent of the respondents would be willing to spend some time outside their own country for professional reasons. One important motive for this attitude is career enhancement, although companies find it increasingly difficult to offer an adequate leadership position after the expatriate's return[14].

[14] http://www.expat-news.com/studien_umfragen/expatriate-studie-weltweit

**Table 27**: Incentives that might motivate employees to temporarily move abroad (in per cent)

| | |
|---|---|
| Garanteed return to previous position in Germany | 69% |
| Tickets for return visits | 65% |
| 10% salary increase | 64% |
| Language training offered | 63% |
| Further vocational training offered | 63% |
| Company car | 61% |
| Possibility for spouse to find adequate employment | 58% |
| More holidays (1 week) | 57% |
| 5% contribution to costs of moving | 56% |
| School tuition for children offered | 55% |
| Assistance for finding adequate housing and schools | 53% |
| Housing for one month offered | 52% |
| Assistance in selling/renting house in Germany | 52% |
| Compensation for financial loss (selling car in Germany) | 47% |
| Financial assistance for moving of pets | 32% |

*Source: IPSOS, 2012*

In comparison with other countries, German employees are comparatively less willing to move abroad as intra-company transferees. According to a study by the market research institute IPSOS, about one third of German employees would move abroad for two or three years for professional reasons if they were offered the opportunity, particularly if they could return to their previous position after return to Germany. Important motives would be a salary increase, a higher quality of housing, and the perspective of gaining international experience, which could be used for career enhancement. Table 27 lists the most important incentives, which companies can provide to motivate their employees to temporarily move abroad as an intra-company transferee.

Although considered important by most sending companies, many expatriates and their families are not interested in learning the language of the host country and in cultural training. Nonetheless, the major reasons for dissatisfaction during the stay abroad are related to problems of cultural adaptation, as well as communication in the local language. The dissatisfaction of spouses, often caused by the lack of adequate employment opportunities, is another reason for discontent during the stay abroad, which might lead to a preliminary return of the intra-company transferee . Furthermore, preparation for accompanying spouses of expatriates is often inadequate, leading to isolation at the destination (Kupkaa, Everett & Cathrob, 2008). A study by Selmer (2006) based on a survey with 251 business expatriates in greater China shows that the extent of adjustment of the business expatriates and their families also differed by location. Expatriates in Singapore as well as Hong Kong were better adjusted and content with their living situation than their counterparts in mainland China. The authors explain this observation by the more ‘international’ life in Singapore with easier access to international food and entertainment (Selmer, 2006). Thus, preparation, ability and

willingness to adapt to the cultural environment abroad, as well as access to an 'international' social and cultural environment have been identified as major facilitating factors for the success of the expatriate experience in much of the existing literature.

Often, expatriates are analytically treated as a separate category of migrants or mobile people because of their different lifestyles and their position as temporary intra-company transferees. Yet, van Bochove and Engbersen (2013) argue that a conceptualisation of expatriates as either cosmopolitans or people locked in an 'expat bubble' neglects the complexity of their identities and engagement with different communities (co-nationals, other expatriates, 'locals') in different spheres of life. In many cases, expatriates' engagement in the transnational social space between their country of residence, the country of temporary residence, as well as potentially other countries, makes them very similar to other groups of migrants, despite the public discourse (van Bochove, 2012). Debates about researchers going abroad have often been framed in the context of brain drain or brain circulation. Orginally, in the context of scientists from developing countries moving to more economically developed countries, the discourse has also reached the emigration of scientists from developed countries (Edler, Fier & Grimpe, 2011).

*Other international migrants from Germany (lifestyle migration, retirement migration, care migration)*

After discussing the quantitatively most important categories for migration from Germany to Asian receiving countries, now other existing, but less significant migrant categories will be addressed. While some of them will be discussed in more detail, others will only be considered conceptually. This mainly has to do with the current theoretical and empirical information situation: while literature on the related categories of retirement migration and care migration is scarce, literature on lifestyle migration from Germany to Asia is almost non-existant. Regarding empirical information, it can be argued that in all categories the data are scare and highly imprecise, which is related to the empirical difficulty of capturing adequately these migrant groups due to varying motivations and resulting legal forms of emigration and respective duration of stays (e.g. temporally, permanently etc.) from Germany (Schneider, 2010). Hence, given the limited information situation, after a theoretical approximation, existing data on retirement and care migration will be illustrated and critically discussed in the following sections.

a) Lifestyle migration: This category represents a kind of emerging North-South migration that is associated with several societal processes over the last years, such as individualisation, globalisation, the facilitation of human mobility due to advances in communication and transportation technologies, an increased flexibility of labour organisation, and a general rise on wealth (O'Reilly and Benson, 2009). In contrast to labour or educational migrants, life-

style migrants represent a highly heterogeneous category with very distinct motivations as notable in the following quotation: "They travel from and to very different places with apparently diverse motivations; they demonstrate distinct mobility patterns, some returning annually while others migrate permanently; finally, they migrate at various points in the life course and in different familiar situations" (ibid: 1). In this vein, motivation of lifestyle movers can vary and embrace temporal or permanent migration due to health, retirement, leisure, escape from urban cities, hedonism etc. Finally, lifestyle migrants are distinct from other classical forms of mobile people, because this group's objective is mostly "the (re)negotiation of work-life balance [meaning to follow the main idea] of a good quality of life and freedom from prior constraints [that results in] a search, a project, which continues long after the initial act of migration" (ibid: 2).

These uncertainties that lifestyle migrants are confronting in the trajectory of their migratory project, is also reflected in the migration patterns, which in turn make the empirical analysis of this category very difficult.

b) Retirement and care migration: Retirement migrants can be differentiated in several forms and accordingly this category could be approached theoretically and empirically due to their form of appearance. In this subsection different typologies will be illustrated and thereafter some particularities and the relationship between retirement and care migration will be addressed. The section will conclude by considering some empirical information on retirement migration.

**Table 28:** Potential forms of retirement migration

| **Differentiation due to…** | **Resulting types** | |
|---|---|---|
| Space | continental | intercontinental |
| Duration | temporary | permanent |
| Legal status | Return migrants | German nationals |
| Motivation | „amenity" migration | „dependency" migration |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on Schneider, 2010: 6-7*

Table 28 shows that retirement migration can result in different types and therewith can have different characteristics, whereby some of them are related to each other. Accordingly, retirement migration can be carried out in the form of continental migration, meaning within the European continent, or accomplished in the form of international migration. The most attractive receiving countries in Europa are represented by Italy and Spain (Deutsche Rentenversicherung, 2012), whereby Spain is the most important immigration country for German nationals (Schneider, 2010). The most relevant receiving countries in Europe, that are not representing EU-member states, are Croatia, followed by Turkey. In the context of intercontinental retirement migration, the USA represent the most significant country of inflow.

Retirement migration can also be differentiated by the duration of stay. Consequently, temporal stays or permanent stays are possible options. The legal status of retired people, meaning weather return migration is accomplished or a stay abroad by German nationals, is a further distinguishing criteria. In both cases principally temporal or permanent stays are possible. There is, for instance, evidence that most return migrants leave children back in Germany, and temporal stays with the aim of visiting family members are therefore usual. Finally, retirement migration could be distinguished between following types:

a) "Amenity" migration refers to an active strategy, wherewith principally the improvement of the quality of life is aimed at (Schneider, 2010: 4). This type of retirement is linked to the sub-category of lifestyle mobility.

b) "Dependency" migration is referring to mobility that is based on economic necessities and deficiencies due to the reduction of incomes after retirement (ibid.). Both types of exodus can represent continental or intercontinental forms of migration. Furthermore, both can represent temporal and permanent forms of mobility and principally amenity and dependency migration can be accomplished by return migrants, as well as by German nationals, whereby the possibilities that return migrants represent dependency movers, who move to their home regions is higher than vice versa.

Dependency migration can also be manifested in care migration. The growing cost of old-age homes, high charge and a general lack of professional care personnel in Germany (Connolly, The Guardian, 26.12.13) are representing aspects that probably encourage the immigration of elderly people, who require nursing care, to third countries. The costs, for instance, in Hungary, Greece or Thailand amount on average to between a third and two-thirds of the existing prices in Germany. Related to the deficiencies in Germany, it is also argued that the care standards in third countries are much better than in Germany (ibid.).

Finally, recently new incentives for retirement migration are achieved by the elimination of fees for sending pension payments to third countries in 2013 (Deutsche Rentenversicherung, 2013). Based on the German Pension Insurance (Deutsche Rentenversicherung), Schölgens argues that within the last ten years pension payments have increased by 35 per cent (Schölgens, Mitteldeutsche Zeitung, 13.01.14). It can be assumed that these numbers will increase in the future, due to growing quantities of retirement homes abroad and given to the payment incentives described above.

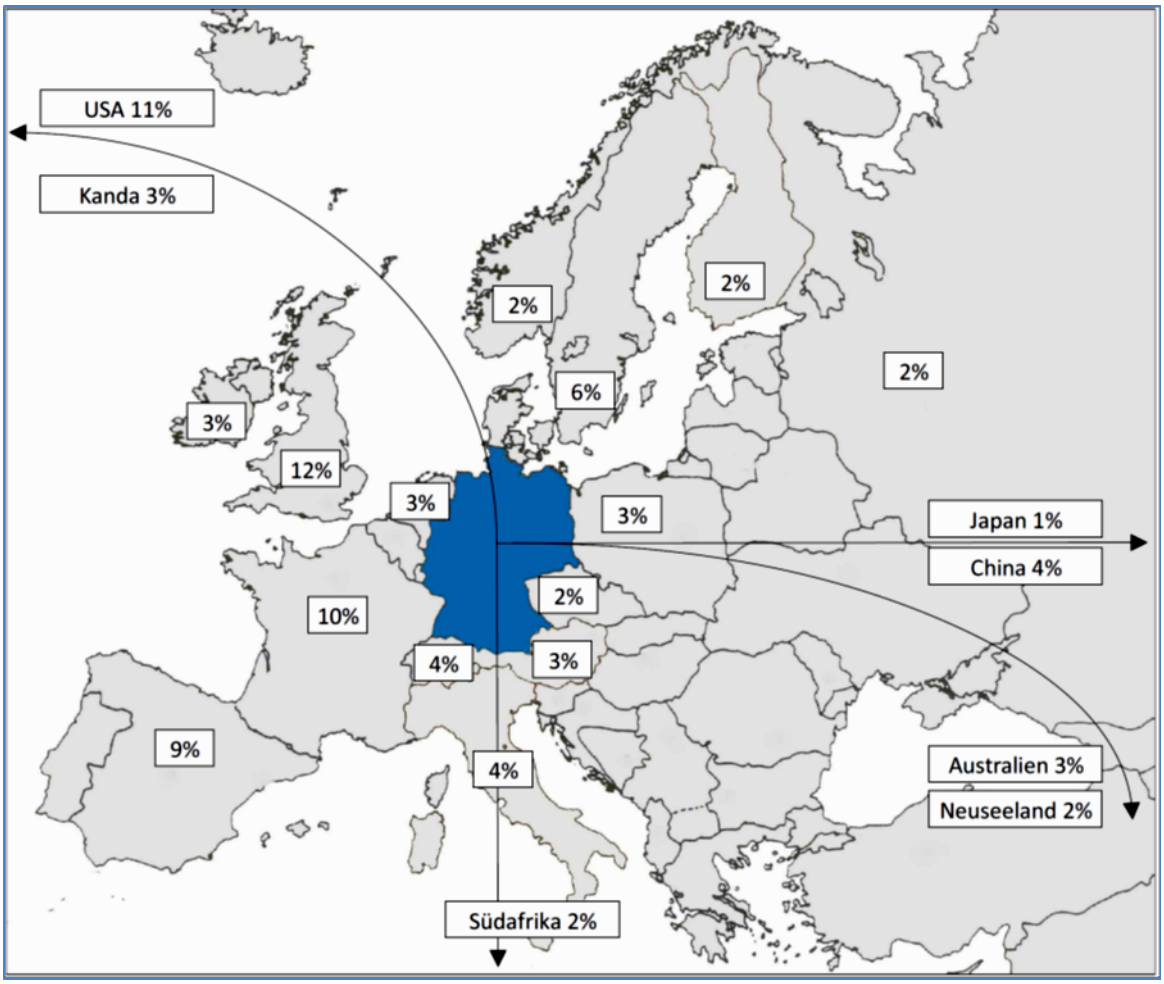
### 4.2. Quantities and characteristics of recent Asian immigrants

*Empirical information on international students from Germany*

After discussing international students from Germany theoretically in section 4.1, now some statistical information about general developments and motivations will be provided and discussed. Thereby, when possible, flows from Germany to Asian host countries will obtain particular attention. Principally it can be argued that among university students in Germany the willingness to plan and carry out an educational stay abroad represents an increasing trend. According to the *Federal Statistical Office* (*Statistisches Bundesamt*) the number of international students, who accomplished a stay abroad amounted in 1992 to 36,800 students. These numbers have increased gradually since the early 1990s, and significantlly after 2004. Consequently, in 2005 the quantity increased to 77,100 students, equvalent to a growth of 109 per cent. In 2008, numbers had risen in comparison to 2005 by 37 per cent, and in 2011 the total number amounted to 133,800 persons, corresponding to a rise by 263 per cent in comparision to 1992 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013: 8). According to the DAAD/HIS report (2013) on German student mobility around 23 per cent, corresponding to 30,274 persons of these total amount of international students were representing those, who were accomplishing university stays abroad by the European programme ERASMUS. The rest of the international student exchanges were based on university partnerships and other agreements. The increase of international students from Germany shows that new and more frecuent flows are developing over the last years. However, this trend does not provide any information about the concrete direction of flows as shown in the following tables that focus on the geographical distribution of German university students abroad.

Figure 1 shows that Western Europe with 60 per cent of inflows represents the most attractive and significant host region for international university students. The second most attractive host region is represented by America, were 14 per cent of all international university students went in 2013. Around 12 per cent of German nationals decided to carry out tertiary education in an Asian host country. Nearly 11 per cent of international university students decided to study in East European countries, 8 per cent in Latin American countries, 6 per cent in African host countries and around 5 per cent in Australia or New Zealand (DAAD & BMBF, 2013: 10).

**Figure 1**: Most important host country regions and percentage of respective flows of international students from Germany, 2013




*Source: DAAD & BMBF, 2013: 10*

After illustrating the regional preferences of university students from Germany, now selected significant host countries and medium-term developments and trends regarding the entrance and stay will be addressed. Table 29 shows the quantity of international students from Germany, who reside in foreign study countries with the objective to accomplish a semester or a study abroad. Accordingly, the figure shows the number of flows to selected host countries and illustrates the medium-term trend of these flows. Consequently, the most important host country on the American continent for international students from Germany is represented by the United States. Around 11 per cent of all international students abroad, corresponding to 8,829 persons, were located in the United States. With regard to the absolute numbers, this amount rose gradually and reached a peak in 2008 with 9,679 persons, who studied in these countries. This absolute quantity decreased slightly in the following years and reached 9,347 persons in 2011, equivalent to a decrease of 3.4 per cent in comparison to 2008. In relation to the total number of international students from Germany, who

study abroad, meaning the relative quantity, it is observable that the share of students from Germany, who studied in the USA, has gradually declined. As noted, while in 2005 the share of those students, who studied in the USA accounted for 11 per cent, the relative numbers decreased and accounted in 2008 for 9 per cent and in 2011 for only 7 per cent.

**Table 29**: Quantity of inflows of international university students from Germany to selected host countries, medium-term development, 2005-2011

| Host country | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ***America*** | | | | | | | |
| **USA** | 8,829 | 8,656 | 8,907 | 9,679 | 9,548 | 9,458 | 9,347 |
| **Canada** | 1,083 | 1,014 | 1,077 | 1,116 | 1,353 | 1,434 | 1,430 |
| ***Europe*** | | | | | | | |
| **Austria** | 10,174 | 11,961 | 14,789 | 20,019 | 23,706 | 27,350 | 30,574 |
| **Netherlands** | 11,896 | 13,988 | 16,550 | 18,972 | 20,805 | 23,831 | 25,028 |
| **UK** | 11,600 | 12,145 | 11,670 | 12,895 | 13,970 | 14,950 | 15,025 |
| **Turkey** | 202 | 266 | 389 | 552 | 790 | 1,119 | 1,337 |
| ***Asia*** | | | | | | | |
| **China** | 2,736 | 3,090 | 3,554 | 4,417 | 4,239 | 4,800 | 5,451 |
| **Japan** | 352 | 400 | 439 | 471 | 438 | 557 | 414 |
| **Russian Federation** | 170 | 177 | 172 | 167 | 191 | 189 | 173 |
| ***Oceania*** | | | | | | | |
| **Australia** | 1,632 | 1,558 | 1,845 | 1,910 | 1,884 | 2,044 | 1,835 |
| **New Zealand** | 970 | 970 | 1,040 | 1,326 | 1,438 | 1,458 | 1,324 |
| ***Total*** | *77,100* | *84,100* | *92,200* | *105,600* | *116,200* | *127,900* | *133,800* |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by the Federal Statistical Office, 2013b: 29*

The most significant host country for international students from Germany within Europe is represented by Austria. While in 2005 total numbers amounted to 10,174 students from Germany, the quantity rose in 2008 by 97 per cent, equivalent to 20,019 persons. In 2011 absolute numbers reached 30,574, representing an increase by 201 per cent in comparison to the base year 2005. The case of Germany in Turkey also reveals a significant increase in numbers; between 2005 and 2011 there was an increase of over 560 per cent Also Asian country plays a role in the context of educational immigration from Germany. Thereby, China represents the most significant host country. In 2005, the total number of international students from Germany amounted to 2,736, representing only 3.5 per cent of the total of international students from Germany. These numbers began to increase gradually in the following years. In 2008, the total quantity rose to 4,417 persons, corresponding to 4.1 per cent of the total amount of international students. Finally, in 2011 the total number reached 5,451 persons, equivalent to an increase of 99 per cent in comparison to the base year of 2005.

Relative to the total quantity of international students from Germany, this means that 4.1 per cent studied in China.

In 2005, around 352 students from Germany studied in Japan. These numbers began to rise in the following years, and amounted to 471 persons in 2008, equivalent to an increase of 33 per cent, and reached a peak in 2010 with 557 students, corresponding to a growth of 58 per cent in comparison to 2005. Thereafter the numbers began to decline, and amounted in 2011 only to 414, which signifies a decrease of 26 per cent.

Table 30 shows the average duration of stay of international students from Germany, between 2007 and 2013. It indicates that in 2007, 24 per cent of all international students from Germany carried out a stay of one to two months, after seven years the short term stay of one to two years decreased by 5 per cent. Stays of three to four months were accounting in 2007 to 12 per cent and increased slightly to 14 per cent. Stays of five to six months increased from 24 per cent to 30 per cent in 2013, and stays with a duration of 11 to 12 years decreased from 13 per cent in 2007 to 10 per cent in 2013.

**Table 30**: Percentage of international students from Germany according to length of stay, 2007-2013

| **Length of stay** | **2007** | **2013** |
|---|---|---|
| **1-2 months** | 24 | 19 |
| **3-4 months** | 12 | 14 |
| **5-6 months** | 24 | 30 |
| **7-8 months** | 10 | 10 |
| **9-10 months** | 13 | 10 |
| **11-12 months** | 10 | 9 |
| **more than 12 months** | 7 | 8 |

*Source: DAAD & BMBF, 2013: 9*

*Professionals*

Skilled and high-skilled German professionals moving abroad in general do so with a work contract, either as researchers, employees of non-profit organisations (NGOs), or intra-company transferees. There are no statistics available, which centrally capture data on Germans moving abroad for the purpose of doing research or as expatriates. Some research funding agencies collect data about the destinations of the researchers whose stay abroad they finance. Combining these data provides an overview of general trends with respect to total numbers and destinations. Yet, actual numbers of German researchers abroad are likely to be much higher, as individual arrangements between researchers and foreign research institutes are not counted in these statistics (BAMF, 2014a: 157).

According to the available data, the number of all German researchers leaving Germany to work abroad has constantly increased from 4,608 persons in 2005, to 6,291 in 2009. After a peak of 8,083 in 2010, there was a significant decrease again to 7,084 people in 2011

(BAMF, 2014a: 158). This development is to a large extent caused by a decrease of funding opportunities for research stays abroad. German foundations and funding agencies generally decreased the volume of their funding, most importantly the Leibniz Association, which in 2011 supported more than 600 academics less than in 2010. Yet, this trend also concerns other major sources of funding for Germans to participate in research projects abroad, such as the German Academic Exchange Service (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst – DAAD*), the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – DFG*), the Hermann von Helmholtz Association, the Hans Böckler Foundation, the Evangelisches Studienwerk, and the Fulbright Commission (DAAD/HIS, 2013: 212).

The USA have been the most popular destination for German researchers in the period for which data are available, which is since 1999. In 2011, 1,593 persons or about 22 per cent of German researchers moving to a different country to do research went to the USA, followed by the UK (680 persons), France (335 persons), Switzerland (291 persons), and Italy (248 persons). The most important Asian country receiving German researchers in 2011 was Japan with 160 persons. Numbers of German researchers going to Japan have fluctuated since the early 2000s with a peak in 2003 (207 persons) and a low in 2008 (150 persons) to reach 160 persons in 2011. The second largest receiving country of German researchers in Asia is China with 141 persons in 2011. The flow of German researchers to China has developed in a comparable way to the flow to Japan over the last 15 years with a peak in 2010 of 178 persons (BAMF, 2014a: 277).

With respect to flows of German researchers to different world regions, the majority of scientists still go to Europe or North America. Table 31 shows that their share has decreased between 2005 and 2011. Yet, this development can to a large extent be explained by the fact that for a growing amount of researchers going abroad no concrete destination could be specified. Asia is the third most important world region receiving German scientists with a share of eleven per cent, which is a slight increase in comparison to 2008. Yet, between 2005 and 2008, the share of Asia as destination region for German researchers had also slightly decreased.

**Table 31**: German researchers abroad by continents 2005-2011 (in per cent)

| | **2005** | **2008** | **2011** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Europe** | 46.2% | 42.1% | 35.6% |
| **America** | 34.4% | 33.5% | 28.0% |
| **Africa** | 2.5% | 2.6% | 3.4% |
| **Asia** | 10.4% | 9.4% | 11.0% |
| **Australia/Oceania** | 3.9% | 3.4% | 3.1% |
| **Unknown destination** | 2.6% | 9% | 18.9% |

*Source: DAAD/HIS, 2013: 115*

Statistical information on German expatriates or intra-company transferees worldwide is difficult to obtain and numbers are often either dated or limited to the major destinations of expatriates from Germany (Nieberg, 2012). Furthermore, different data sources, depending on the different conceptualisations of expatriates, indicate a wide range of diverse numerical estimates. Those estimates of German intra-company transferees abroad range from 1 million to 10-15 million persons (Nieberg, 2013).

According to a study by the consulting firm KPMG, after Europe, Asia is the most important sending region for German expatriates, followed by North America. The number of German expatriates in Asia has increased significantly over the last years. 80 per cent of the questioned companies indicated that they are sending employees to Asian countries. China ist the most important destination country within Asia. Data provided by the Association of Employees Abroad (*Bund der Auslandserwerbstätigen - BDAE*) shows that in 2009, 50 per cent of all German companies active in Asia sent their employees to China. 15 per cent of all German companies are active in Thailand and 12 per cent in Singapore (Altmann, 2010).

*Other types of Flows from Germany to Asia*

According to the German Pension Insurance *(Deutsche Rentenversicherung)* the total number of German overseas pension payments amounted in 2013 to 1.7 million. More than 1 million pension payments were sent to European Union countries (64 per cent), more than 300,000 to European countries, who are not in the European Union, and around 400,000 pension payments were paid to third countries outside of Europe, whereby with 113,000 the USA has the most important share (Deutsche Rentenversicherung, 2013). The institution furthermore argues that around 1,479,000 overseas pension payments, equivalent to 87 per cent, were transferred to persons, who lived previously in Germany and therefore have a pension entitlement. Only 221,000 overseas payments were for German nationals (ibid.).

**Table 32**: Quantity of pensions transferred abroad and quantity of German nationals abroad 31.12.12, Asian countries, by sex

| **Relevant countries** | **Total** | **Pension annuity** | | **German nationals** (aged 65 years and over) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2012 | **Men** | **Women** | 2011 | 2012 |
| Afghanistan | 9 | 4 | 0 | n/a | n/a |
| China | 401 | 244 | 36 | 29 | 25 |
| India | 491 | 148 | 156 | n/a | n/a |
| Indonesia | 307 | 151 | 42 | n/a | n/a |
| Iraq | 18 | 4 | 1 | n/a | n/a |
| Iran | 169 | 76 | 33 | n/a | n/a |
| Israel | 45,020 | 14,530 | 18,630 | n/a | n/a |
| Japan | 823 | 548 | 154 | n/a | n/a |
| Jordan | 405 | 117 | 45 | n/a | n/a |
| Kazakhstan | 48 | 14 | 10 | n/a | n/a |
| Korea, Rep. | 239 | 112 | 85 | n/a | n/a |
| Lebanon | 134 | 41 | 33 | n/a | n/a |
| Pakistan | 218 | 49 | 20 | n/a | n/a |
| Philippines | 1,957 | 819 | 158 | n/a | n/a |
| Sri Lanka | 217 | 71 | 35 | n/a | n/a |
| Syria | 116 | 26 | 27 | n/a | n/a |
| Thailand | 3,931 | 2,158 | 240 | n/a | n/a |
| Vietnam | 115 | 53 | 7 | 270 | 296 |
| Tota | 55,322 | 19,571 | 19,810 | | |

*Source: Authors' compilation based on data by Deutsche Rentenversicherung 2013 and BAMF, 2014a: 274*

Table 32 illustrates the quantity of transferred pension payments in 2012. Furthermore, it shows German Nationals, who lived in 2011 and 2012 in China or in Thailand. Accordingly, the most significant Asian country regarding the transfer of pension payments is represented by Israel. Around 81 per cent of all payments were transferred to this country. While 33,160 payments (74 per cent) were pension annuities, 11.860 were other types of pension. In 2012 men received 14,530 pension annuities, corresponding to 74 per cent of all payment for Asian men. Women in turn received 18,630 in 2012, equivalent to 94 per cent of all disbursements in 2012. Thailand represents the second important country with regard to pension payments. The total number amounts to 3,931 people, equivalent to 7 per cent of all payments to Asia. The total number of pension annuities amounted to 2,398, corresponding to 61 per cent of all pensions received. The share of payments for men is with 90 per cent disproportionally high. The share of German nationals aged 65 years and over is with 296 persons in 2012 in comparison very low, it corresponds only to 7.5 per cent, indicating that the main part of the pensioners are representing Thai return migrants. In comparison to 2011 the total number of German nationals, who live in Thailand increased by 26 persons. The Philippines represent the third most relevant country regarding retirement migration. In 2012, 1,957 pensions were received in the country, corresponding to a share of 3.5 per cent of the

total quantity transferred to Asia. 977 payments were representing pension annuities. Also, in this case the share of men is with almost 84 per cent very high.

Finally, the total number of pensions transferred to China amounted in 2012 to 401 payments, representing only 0.7 per cent of all payments to Asia. 280 payments were represented by pension annuities. The share of women accounted for only 13 per cent. The share of German nationals represented only 25, indicating that less than 10 per cent of the total quantity was represented by German nationals.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This report addressed questions about the nexus between recent political measures, prevailing characteristics of migration, and relevant analytical migrant categories in the context of migration between Germany and Asia. As argued in the introduction and adressed in chapter three, the German government – partially in line with European legislation – since 2005 has introduced a set of new migration policies against the background of emerging demographic changes and a related growing lack of qualified specialists in a range of specialised fields. These developments led to a process of public recognition of the need for experts in these professional areas from abroad, which entailed a shift of the conception of immigration, away from a culture of foreclosure towards a 'welcome culture' with respect to particular groups of migrants. This strategy can be situated in the context of the political desire for competitiveness and integration into the global market, which is achieved by highly selective and exclusive immigration policies, and the strengthening of internationalisation, particularly in the sectors education, research, and technological development.

In the context of Asia's growing markets and increasingly highly educated population, the German-Asian transnational space has received increased attention in the German public debate. Migration between Asia and Germany – which previously had played only a marginal role, also as far as numbers are concerned (see chapter 2.4) – in this context has gained momentum as well, yet only for certain categories of migrants. This increase of the importance of migration can be observed in both directions, from Asia to Germany and from Germany to Asia.

With respect to migration from Asia to Germany, the most relevant categories of migrants are students, as well as skilled and high-skilled professionals, including entrepreneurs, researchers, and intra-company transferees. The most important Asian country in the context of international student exchange with Germany – in both directions – is China. Data show that not only the volume of Asian, and particularly Chinese, students in Germany is increasing, but that these students are also increasingly successful, as indicated by the increased number of graduations. There is also some qualitative evidence that transnational

social formations and practices have been initiated, which might influence graduates' decision to stay in Germany for further studies or for employment, to return to their home country, or to move on to another country after graduation.

Both China and India are also important sending countries for skilled and high-skilled professionals, including researchers, to Germany. The volume of migration of dependents of these students and profesionnals in the context of family reunification has also increased, particularly for the case of India. This growing importance of migration of Asian professionals and their dependents to Germany in terms of numbers is likely related to the policies described above. These policies were created to facilitate the inflow and settlement of skilled and high-skilled workers and their family members, for instance also by allowing spouses of Blue Card holders to work in Germany. It might also be linked to gradually solidifying immigrant communities and emerging social formations, such as transnational social spaces.

Global numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in Germany have significantly increased in 2013 and in the first months of 2014. Since 2007, the countries of origin of more than half of all asylum applicants in Germany are situated in Asia. Yet, refugees and asylum seekers have been excluded from the newly generated public debate about migration from Asia to Germany, which focuses on students and professionals who voluntarily migrate to Germany. In line with this debate, the regional interest focuses on emerging economies, including China and India, while Asian refugees in Germany particularly orginate from Syria, Central Asia, including Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran.

In parallel to the growing importance of migration from Asia to Germany, the importance of migration from Germany to Asia has also increased in recent years. The most important categories of this migration flow are students, professionals, as well as – to a very small extent as far as numbers are concerned – retirement migrants and life-style seekers. As analysed in chapter 4.2, China represents the most attractive host country for all German students going to study in Asia with a stable increase in absolute numbers since 2005.

Flows of professionals to Asia have to be distinguished by the nature of their employment. On the one hand, the importance of Asia, and particularly China, as destination for intra-company transferees has significantly increased over the last two decades. This trend is related to global economic transformations and growing foreign direct investment flows towards these countries as well as resulting needs for highly specialised workforce from Germany. On the other hand, in the context of international mobility of German researchers, Asia still plays a marginal role, as the major destinations of German researchers remain EU countries, particularly the UK, as well as the USA.

There is a comparable lack of literature on the qualitative aspects of skilled migration from Germany to Asia as for the case of migration from Asia to Germany. Yet, it seems that the general trend of an increasing importance of mobility between Germany and Asia is re-

lated to the expansion of international business relations in the context of globalisation. Migration related to this process generally has got a temporary nature and is based on a circular exchange of highly educated professionals as well as students. These categories are also the groups of migrants, which the German government (and other European governments) try to attract in the context of the new legislation, particularly related to the Blue Card. However, the new German legislation for skilled and high-skilled immigrants tries to target migrants with an intention to stay for a longer period of time or even permanently in Germany. Thus, there seems to be a hiatus between the intended effects of changes to legislation and policies, and actual current developments of labour markets and migration patterns.

The report has demonstrated that there is a trend towards a growing importance in terms of numbers of migrants from Asia to Germany but also in the opposite direction. Herewith, the political focus lies on skilled and high-skilled migrants as well as students, which are considered agents of the future qualitative and quantitative societal development. However, currently, there is no conclusive empirical information available, which addresses the particular characteristics that arise as a consequence of increasing numbers of migrants from Asia. Thus, the societal consequences of the transformation of migration patterns in Germany needs to be analysed in-depth in further studies, which have the potential to provide additional insights into specific features that might give signals for an emerging German-Asian transnational space.

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